THEORIQVE AND PRACTISE OF WARRE.

Written to Don Philip Prince of Castil,
by Don BERNARDINO *de Mendoza.*

Translated out of the Castilian tonge into Englishe,
by Sr. *EDWARDE HOBY*
Knight.

Directed to Sr. *GEORGE CAREW*
Knight.

1597.

Al muy Illtre y discreto Cauallero Don Iorge Carew, Lugarteniente general de la Artilleria, por su Sacra Cesarea Catholica, Real Magd. Donna ELIZABETH nuestra Señora, en todos sus Reynos, Prouincias, y Estados.

Señor,

BOluiendo de Cadiz el estio passado en la felicissima y inuictissima Armada de su SCCRM. nuestra Señora, despues de auer gañado la victoria en tã señalada empreza contra los herejes, enemigos, Vassallos del Rey de Castilla, en la piedra angular de su Reyno, debaxo de los muy poderosos Generales, Don Roberto *Conde de* Essex, *y Don* Carlos Howard *gran Almirante, comence a estudiar la lengua Castellana, de la qual como saue V. S. antes no tenia gusto. Siendo ayudado con la diligencia y discrecion de Don* Payo Patino *Arcedeano de Cadiz, hombre muy honrrado, que posaua comigo en la Capitana, y despues en la cõpania de* Alonço *de* Baeça, *Tesorero de los Almojarisfazgos del Rey, el qual he tenido en mi casa para este efecto: Ambos de los Rehenes del Catiuerio Español: facilitandola con el muy discreto y raro Dicionario, que compuso* Richardo Perciual, *por lo qual cierto los aficionados a esta milicia le deuemos muchas gracias y loores, Ocasion con que he engañado el tiempo con el curso de hablar y leer libros Españoles, hora de guerras, hora de plazeres. Entre los quales he hallado vno que compuso Don* Bernardino *de* Mendoza, *en tiempos passados embaxador en esta Corte, llamado* Theorica y practica de guerra. *El qual aun que a la primera parecia muy difficultoso por las palabras estrañas, estratagemas y ardides de guerras, Todauia por exercicio he passado algun tiempo en traduzille en nuestra lengua vulgar; por este medio mejorando me en la perfecion de la lengua Castellana: y con todo mi trabajo no quiero yo persuadir a V. S. que es posible yr tan perfecto palabra por palabra como en el mismo original: ni tan poco no se dene V. S. marauillar, Si en nuestro Romance empreſtamos muchas palabras de las otras naciones, pues los Castellanos*

lanos mismos (gente tan Catholica) las empresta, no solamente de los Italianos, Franceses, Flamencos, que son Christianos, pero de los Moros, Africanos, Alarabes, Barboros, Iudios, y Infieles. Iuntamente es de aduertir, que las materias y instrumentos de las milicias, por ser entre todas las naciones differentes, segun lo que acostumbra cada nacion al pelear, es imposib-le con puntualidad exprimir las en otra lengua, sin mezelar la propia donde fueron primeramente inuentadas. Por manera que es menester que cada nacion empreste poco o mucho de la vezindad de las otras. Assi mismo se vee cada dia trocar la forma de hazer guerra y con esto forçosamente la manera y nombres de las Armas, ensangrentandose los Principes, los unos con los otros, mouidos con la ceguedad de la ambicion. De lo qual no puede auer testigo mas cierto, que el Autor mismo, pues a platicado contra tantos principes, y en ninguna cosa hecho mayor daño a su Rey, despues muchos desafueros y agrauios hechos indignos a Cauallero de Aue Maria, que fue siendo embaxador con mucha confiança en esta Corte, buscar y platicar la destrucion de la serenissima persona de su SCCRM. nuestra Señora, por lo qual con mucha uerguença lo mando desterrar fuera de este Reyno. Cosa digna de exemplar castigo si no lo mitigara su mucha bondad y clemencia tan acostumbrada tanto a los estraños como a sus vassallos. Mas el Dios muy poderoso que tienne su Iuizio aparejado para castigar los pecadores, a tomado esta causa a su cargo, començandole a pagar su debito con vn rayo de su yra, en el miembro de la vista, (de que se escusa en su carta a el Principe estar priuado) que era el que mas le ayudaua a pecar: conforme a vn Cauallero, que V.S. conoscio, que a la hora de la muerte dixo con muchas lagrimas: In qua parte maximè peccaui, in ea maximè stringor miser. Y aun que el Autor secretamente descubre su malicioso coraçon y flaqueza dando a entender en muchas partes a qual reyno pone el blanco, (que es a el a quien los cielos hasta agora son propicios, contra la ambicion, y insolencia, y cobdicia de los Castellanos, que primieramente començaron los daños de toda la Christianidad) Todauia es digno de ser alabado en otras particularidades, que le disculpan de muchos yerros, de que ningun autor puede ser perfecto: y principalmente los de la nacion que nunca precio otra en sus brabatas, y siempre son menores en los hechos, pero en ninguna mas, que adonde alaba el que acomete, y menosprecia el que espera. Yo por mi parte no dexare de hazelle compania en sus

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rogatiuas, ahincadamente todos los dias suplicando a nuestro Señor, con muchas veras, que disponga los coraçones de los Principes (pues estan en su mano) en tal manera que bueluan el filo de su espada contra los infieles, dexando las puntualidades que vnos contra otros tienen, y que vea yo una paz entre Ynglaterra y Castilla, como en el buen tiempo que mi Tio Don Felipe Hoby fue embaxador de la parte de Don Henrico Octauo, de pia, y sancta, y felicissima memoria, padre de su SCCRM. en la Corte de Don Carlos quinto Emperador: los dos açote de la ambicion y tirania Papal, como lo muestran las hazañas de Don Henrico en libertar su imperio del yugo y seruidumbre pontifical, y Coronicas de Don Carlos, quando debaxo de los Duques de Borbon, y de Alua por dos vezes mando sitiar y saquear Roma. Mas por no alargarme, cesso remitiendome a la traduçion, aun que es Opus laboris non ingenij, como todas lo son: Pero persuadido de muchos amigos me paresçio bien contentallos, y sacarlo a lumbre por el prouecho y entretenimiento de aquellos que no alcançaron la lengua Castellana, que V. S. me incito estudiasse: y pues a su Ruego la he aprendido me atreuo a dedicarle este mi trabajo poniendole en sus manos para que me ampare y defienda de las calumnias y desdeñes del comun. De que no tengo duda considerando su gran valor y discrecion, no solo por auer descendido de la Illustrissima y antiquissima casa del Marquese de Corcke, Vicecondes Durseys, y Varones de Odrone y de Carew, pero por los señalados seruicios hechos a su SCCRM. en Irlandia, donde fue Consejero y General de la Artilleria tantos años, y continuando el mismo officio en la vltima victoria de Cadiz.

Nuestro Señor guarde a V. S. Del Castillo Real de Queenborowe, vltimo de Março, y de mil y quinientos y nouenta y sieta años.

EDWARD HOBY.

The Autors epiſtle to Don Philip Prince of Caſtill.

My Lorde.

IF the olde Caſtilian proverbe doe affirme, That by a nayle is loſt a ſhooe: and by a ſhooe, a horſe: and by a horſe a Cauallero: and by a Cauallero a Cornet: and by a Cornet an Hoſte: & by an Hoſte a Battaile: and by the Battaile a Kingdome: and not onely the ſucceſſion of Kinges therein, but many times religion: a loſſe ineſtimable: you may wel iudge, howe much more ſpeedlie, manie other incõueniences may bring like loſſes, which by careleſneſſe, and ſmall heede taking, may ſucceede in warre, if that, which to looke too is of ſo ſmall moment, may come to bee cauſe thereof. The conſideration of which hath moued me to write vnto *Your Highnes* a briefe *Theorique and practiſe of Warre*, refreſhing thereby the memorie with what I haue read and experimented in thirtie and ſo many yeares, which I haue folowed, ſeruing in that, and Embaſſages, the King our Soueraine, father to *Y. H.* ſince that my ouertymelie blindneſſe hath kept me from being able to occupie any roome fit to ſerue *Y. H.* in, but only as a dumme Councellor, the office of bookes and paper, becauſe they ſpeake not but when they are ſought, nor replie vpon ought they haue reported: which ought to binde Princes to ſpende ſome parte of their time in good letters: ſince beſides tillinge of their wittes with them, and opening their eyes, to order things preſent by example and warninge of the paſſed, (which maketh able to foreſee thinges to come): Bookes and writings deliuer vnto Princes many truthes, which they that are liuing dare not preſume to doe. And although

although many will holde it for a harde matter to make a Theorique of knowledge, which consisteth entierly in practise, as the exercise of warre, experience being the principall foundation therof, Phisicke holdeth the same qualitie, by seeing in mens bodies, after the same manner as in warre, so diuers and vnlooked for euentes: A particular which causeth experimented Phisitians to bee of more estimation, then those that are onely Theoricall. This hath not bin any cause why the most learned in science should forget the Theorique which is in all, applying practise with it. Neither in the Mathematiques, and Geometrie, doth it leaue to bee of much profit, since that, except the reason and composition of lines and figures had bin first knowne, Architectistes could hardlie haue traced out edifices, for the building whereof this is not sufficient alone, except the maister workemen knowe what the nature of the deapth of the soyle is: by longe vse and experience the qualitie of the stuffe for the building: what sorte of stones endure longest the iniurie of the weather, and if it incorporate it selfe better with morter and plaster. In the game of Chesse the liuelie paterne of warre, which consisteth really in vse, those bookes leaue not to bee verie fruitefull, which are written of the Theorique thereof, aduantaging such as reade them, greatly in their playe. Likewise it may seeme to some, that I haue writtē many things, which such as are soldiors alreadie knowe, and some which are to bee founde in sundrie bookes. To satisfie the first, if reason of offending and defending had not been from the first creation of the worlde vntill nowe the verie same, the disposition of the people onely varying in the difference of weapons, engins, and instrumentes, which haue bin inuented for to obteyne, which soeuer of the two effectes, I mought be able to tell nouelties, the matter it selfe ministring me occasion: and God giuing to all men the powers of vnderstanding, memorie and will, wherewith to dispose the discourse & reasoning, no wonder is it, if for all this, sundrie wittes doe meete in one thought, when to doe it is grounding them selues

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on one ſelfe ſame cauſe. The which doth not hinder that ſome vnderſtandinges may not ſurpaſſe more then others in finding the reaſons and effectes of it, nor breede in mee any diſcontent, when myne ſhall goe after others, who haue paſſed before better then my ſelfe. To the ſecond, although Bees doe not frame or make the flowers, yet the liquor that they drawe from them, doth not leaue to be profitable, & the coppwebbes abhorred, notwithſtanding they are wouen of their proper ſubſtance. Nowe, if Y.H. vouchſafe to looke vpõ theſe my papers, rather like a bee, then a ſpider: I ſhall thinke the labor I haue ſpent in them, well beſtowed, for the deſire I haue to accompliſh that duetie, wherein God hath placed me, making me your ſubiect: & to offer in reknowledging of this, the litle might that is left me: In which Y. H. is more to reſpect the carrectes of the affection in preſentinge it, then of the talent.

Our Lorde preſerue your Highnes. From *Madrid*, the laſt of Auguſt. 1594.

Don BERNARDINO *de Mendoza.*

THEORICQVE AND PRACTISE OF WARRE.

OD hauing made your Highnes heire apparant to the multitude of Crownes, Eſtates and Countries, which the K. our ſoueraigne Lord *Y. H.* father poſſeſſeth, ſo diuerſly occupying a good parte in Europe, and ſo mighty in *America*, *East Indies*, the new world, it is very likely, and forceable in mans reaſon, that *Y. H.* ſhall enter into many Warrs by ſea and land, either in conquering, * or defending. Togeather with which, the ſucceſſes and chaunces of the world breeding differences, which ordinarily falleth out beetwene Kings, Cõmon wealths, and Catholike Potentates, muſte needes lye awakened: And albeit your qualitie may require to appeaſe them with armes, yet is *Y. H.* carefully to looke that you make no vſe of them, before you ſtand deſperate of anie other meanes of negotiation or agreement, in reſpect of the great damage which in imbrewing your ſword in blood among Chriſtian Kings may redound to the * Romane Apoſtolike Church, hindring thereby the increaſe of our Catholicque faith, beſides giuing occaſion to infidells and hereticques, by not ſeeing the Catholicque forces vnited, to inuade their kingdomes and territories.

* Guiltilie foreſeene, moſt being in deed vniuſtlie vſurped, and all tyrannicallie ouerruled.

* A Chriſtiã conſideration, if you meane it as the Apoſtle doth, Rom. 1. ver. 8.

This conſideration is accompanied with another fit for Kings, Princes and Gouernours, often to laye before their eies, which is that our Lord cannot bee better ſerued then in time of peace, nor contrariwiſe more offended then in warre. A matter which with my ſelf oftentimes meditating, hath made me to knowe howe artificially the deuill hath practiſed to make Kinges beleeue, that it beſt beſeemeth their greatnes and power to make warr vpon credit,

A conſideration for Kings.

perſwading them howe eaſily by that courſe they may vndertake many; whereby increaſeth ſinnes and offences when the ſouldier is left vnpaide. A pointe which ſpoyleth Generals and Heades of Armies, cauſing them cleane to loſen the raine of obedience & good diſcipline, in yeelding liberty to extortions, robberies, forces, and mutines, which is to multiplie ſinnes beſides thoſe which a warre neceſſarily draweth with it, through the freedome, which they giue to ſuch as follow them.

In caſe that ſuch differences among Kings and catholike Potentates ſhal fall out betwene any Princes about whom *Y. H.* ſhall hold any reſident Embaſſador, he is to obſerue, acquainting himſelf with the demaundes & anſweres the treaties, if the Embaſſador runne not only a courſe for manage of his affaires, but be beſides a ſouldior of courage: for that queſtion beeing of matters out of which breach of armes is likely to ariſe, it is very conuenient they ſhould paſſe through the handes of ſuch, as will not bee moued with ambiguous ſpeches, which Princes & their miniſters vſe in like occaſions to aduantage their partie and negotiation, nor yet with the demonſtrations which they make of the leauies of men, to countenance themſelues with, eſteeming it the ſureſt foundation they haue. And like wiſe if he haue followed the warres, that he be able to ballance matters in ſuch a maner, as he may aduiſe *Y. H.* at an inch, of all ſuch preuentions as are fit to bee vſed, and not to abridge him in the end of his inſtructions, without ſending ſpeedily vnto him, which onlie ſerueth to leauie men to your expence and hinderance. Neither muſt hee yeeld credit too much to the faire wordes giuen him (when by workes they are not confirmed) leaſt *Y. H.* growe careles, and at ſuch time as neceſſitie ſhall require ſtand vnprouided: In reſpect whereof *Y. H.* is to giue order (your Embaſſador not being ſuch a one as hath followed the warrs) that

A point to be obſerued by Embaſſadours.

that some such as hath, may be sent in his companie, to assist him ioyntly in this his negotiation, seeking if it shalbee necessarie, otherwise to color him, wherof there will neuer bee cause wanting among Kings, nor to withdrawe an Embassador, when matters shall affoord to be handled, but in the handes of one, all such as by coniecture are to entreate of their affaires wel hauing to vnderstand, that by no meanes they binde their Kinge, or make shewe of his power & force, if it be not that occasion require it, wherby they preserue reputation, whose foundation is workes not wordes, with which is very small maintenance. And for that it is a qualitie incident to Kings, that they cannot bee forced either to affect or dislike, and so not to suffer themselues oftentimes to bee perswaded to that which is conuenient for them, therby running headlong into all sortes of miseries which may be seene, *Y. H.* must lende eares of obedience to the * *Diuines*, who are to approue whether your cause bee iust or no, so that they bee such personages for their much learning and example of life, as *Y. H.* is to chuse for the resolution of a matter of so great moment, it beeing one of the greatest pledges of a Kings wisdome to be able to knowe such among his vassalls and seruantes as may be fittest for him to harken to their iudgement and opinion, according to such matters as they knowe, and profession which they haue made therein.

Qualitie incident to kings.

Surely men of rare iudgment, and profitable to the k. seruice, if their manor and succesſe of councels be looked into

Y. H. is in like sorte to giue hearing, voide of passion to your Councellours of Cape and sworde, when they shall represent vnto you, that for the defence of your Kingdomes (an estimation of greatnes and reputation) it is requisite to take armes, without leauing only to your owne opinion, caried with the heate of age & greatnes of minde, which is to bee thought God gaue vnto Kinges the day when he sent them into the world with like vocation, for that the only tearme of their bringing vp could not bee

ſufficient to inlarge them, or to make them confidently imbrace ſome glorious enterpriſe or other, notwitſtāding that it carrie multitudes of difficulties therewith.

Y. H. ſtanding fully aſſured by the *Diuines*, that your demaunde is iuſt, according to the lawe of God & man, and that it is wiſedome to mainteyne it by armes and ſtronge hand, may then vnder thoſe two pointes hope for a good ſuccor and victorie, and eūill in any other ſort. But ſay that God hath graunted victory to many, which haue vniuſtly fought, it hath bin through his ſecrete iudgments, and as far as mans reaſon may cōceyue, to ſerue himſelf of them, as of a ſcourge, chaſtning thoſe which forget to ſerue him, & to glorifie him, in paiement of benefites receyued, ſuch as to beſtowe the light of faith, knowledge of his inuincible veritie, and promiſe of the greatnes of rewardes, which may be expected of his bountifull and powerfull hand, to all thoſe which keepe his commaundements, * which for no cauſe in the earth ought to be broke, howe much more then to be obſerued in warre, being a flaſhe of lightning of our Lordes wrath, and the charge not able to bee expreſſed, which a King taketh vpon himſelf if he make it for any other motiue or end, then the pure honor and glory of God, defence of his Kingdomes, and conſeruation in them of our holy Catholicque faith, fulfillinge in this the obligation which God hath laide vpon them, that thoſe ſoules ſhould not be loſt, ouer whom he hath made them *Captaines on the earth, and adminiſtrators of his Iuſtice, which is not enough, although they haue all they can deſire in the world, to make Kings know when a warre ſhall end, though they ſtand ſure of the beginning thereof. I do not leaue to knowe that I haue bin tedious in the points which I haue touched, but the greatnes of the profit which may be taken out thereof, will make me blameles with *Y. H.* Chriſtian pietie beeing as great a pledge and aſſurance of

How much more are you which knowe this, and do contrary, to bee beaten &c.

What obligatiō Kings doe enter into.

*(Caudillo) your ſelf by this acknowledgeth the Supremacie which Kinges vnder God hold in the church.

of our actions in this life, as is in buildinges the firmenes of a ſure foundation.

Y. H. ſtanding reſolued to take armes, making warres by lande or ſea, it muſt of force be offenſiue or defenſiue, being the two blankes for all warlicke eyes to ayme at, leauing the one for the other, as occaſions and ſucceſſes of times, which draw with them the vnconſtancie of matters of this life, ſhall afoord. The firſt thing which *Y. H.* is to looke vnto, is to commaund your Councellers & officers of your excheker, that they certifie you the eſtate thereof, what readie money you haue, and the places where your rentes be to be paide, to knowe if it be poſſible (neceſſitie ſo requiring it) howe you may take them vp *before hand: conſigning them to Marchants: the meanes which may be to rayſe a greater ſumme, without greeuing your ſubiects, ſo as the Countries be able with their ſubſtance, and they with their wealth, to doe greater ſeruice to their Prince then ordinarie; for which *Y. H.* is to yeelde manie thanks to our Lord, holding yours ſo affectionate, & your kingdomes and eſtates ſo *fruitfull, and powerfull, as that you need not ſtand in feare of what other kings doe, in reſpect of the barenes and pouertie of their landes, who cõfort them ſelues, that they are only able to defend at home their owne houſes if they be fought out, & liue in the ſame ſcantnes, in which they were firſt nouriſhed, *babtizing it for a greatnes, if they can holde a title to haue preſerued them ſelues a while.

Two manors of war

*A Counceler at wars in Spaine, & an Embaſſador of ſundrie employmentes, ſettinge this downe for a diuiſe to his Prince, belike beleeueth not ouermuch in the Indian treaſure.

*More barenes then in the kingdõs which the k. of Caſtill doth holde by right, cã hardly bee foũd in Europe, or fewer ſoldados de pecho at his owne home.

Of all the meanes and expedients which Princes haue to furniſh thẽſelues with mony, I find none in my iudgment of more efficacie, or mildneſſe, then to haue helde before a forme of gouuernement in ſuch ſort, as for pure honor, &

* Belike ſomwhat ſticketh in your mawe, ſince you ſolemlie gaue thankes to our Lady and ſaint Chriſto in noſtre Dame church in Paris, for a miſtaken victorie 1588. and ſhameles vntrueth told by you to the late worthie K. H. 3. who bid you returne againe the next day, without yeelding any credit to the reporte.

opinion thereof, the vaſſals may be brought to ſpend their wealth in the ſeruice of their prince, and not altogither vpon their owne profit. Becauſe men, to attaine to that, will naturally plucke out their owne bowells, and will not advẽture themſelues in the other, except they may ſee a preſent gaine before their eyes, for that honour ſtirreth them vp to a kinde of envie, and Competitorſhip one againſt an other, who ſhall attaine to it, and ſo doeth litle or nothinge at all profit. This will be compaſſed with greater facilitie, if you doe but marke that the care is not leſſe which men take in getting of wealth, then it is in ſtudying to imploy it as ſoone as it is gotten. In reſpect of which it were to bee wiſhed, the old cuſtome mought be kept, a matter of great eſtimatiõ, that ſubiects in their provinces ſhould be drawn to employe the ſubſtance of their wealth, in that which mought proue geateſt ſeruice to the Prince, & benefite of the publike weale of the Realme, as that ſuch as haue wher with, ſhould finde armor, men, and horſſe: accuſtoming themſelues in the exerciſe thereof, out of which there redoundeth a greater intereſt to the cõſeruation of the ſtate, then out of riche furniture, and moveables.

A Princes greatnes, to haue their ſubiects trained & furniſhed for the wars.

Albeit ſundrie are of opinion, that it may breede much inconuenience to Princes, to trayne their vaſſalls in readineſſe of warre: I anſwere, that if they be loyall, it is a much more greatnes and power in Princes, to commaund ouer ſuch ſubiectes, other Princes and Potentates ſtanding in feare of the like qualitie, and when God ſhall withdrawe his hande, and blinde them for their ſinnes, not to become ſuch, yet traytors leaue not to be powerfull, albeit they be not armed, able to force if altogither agree in the ſame attempte, *As in a monaſterie where are thirtie Friars, and one *Warden* or *Prior*, albeit they haue not Harquebuzes, Caliuers, or pykes, yet as often as they wil ioyne togither, or the maior part of them, to force their ſuperior, that hee

A right Spaniſh ſimilie, out of their theorique & practiſe deriued.

binde

binde them not to goe to matynes, or deliuer thē the key of the gate, they wilbe able to execute it, without being anie impediment at all vnto them their being vnarmed. But if kinges administer iustice to their vassalls, preseruing them in reast & quiet, this is the greatest securitie that can arise to princes, and libertie to vassalls, whereby no change can be occasioned among the well disposed, the contrarie being ordinarilie coueted by all the rest, which are not cōtented with their owne estate.

Securitie of Princes, and libertie of vassalls.

Whereas I haue touched armes and horsses, I meane it not as a generall rule in all prouinces, for that in each one the qualitie thereof is to be considered, and what the inclination of the people and common wealth requireth most, and in this sorte it shalbe fitt in some one to increase nauigatiō, if they be prouinces bordering on the sea coste, occupation, traficke, and trade of marchandize in other: & in other husbandrie and heards of cattell. Whereby the prince may be able to keepe his ordinarie garisons & men of warre, with the pay and entertaynement, arising out of the rentes thereof. And the people of the prouince thorough their occupations in being set aworke in some of these things, shall thereby augment their substance in particular, which is to mainteyne a publique and generall, besides that thereby redounderh a great ritches vnto princes whē their vassalls be thus possessed. Of whom if they be to require extraordinarie seruices, they must looke that they rayse it out of that which each citie or prouince hath in most aboundance: because not feelinge the want thereof so much as of other things, it will be graunted with much more will and readines.

Consideration for augmentation of things, according to the qualitie of the kingdome.

Point of gouernement.

Y. H. is to take great heedē, that you be well assured of a good banke of money, being that which giueth mooving to armes and feates of warre, as sinowes doe to liuing bodies: whereby such as holde much brawne and flesh, are accoun-

How much ready mony importeth.

accounted ſluggie, and ſlothfull, and contrariewiſe the ſinewie ones moſt light and nimble, wherevppon the olde auncientes were wont to ſay, *El dinero el nieruo de la guerra*, which continuall experience proueth: as albeit we ſee at home multitudes of people which ioyned togither, will make the body of an armie, yet when of force they muſt be diuided to vſe them abroad, in a moment they diſſolue, except there be money ready, without being poſſible to vnite them againe togither, their force otherwiſe beeing only in appearance, & in effect nothing. This maketh me ſay, that the laſt crowne will alwayes be the cõqueror, becauſe he which hath money to pay, wil alwayes be able to holde togither his Armie: his ſouldiors being in ſuch ſorte thereby relieued, is that onely which ſo eaſilie bringeth to paſſe good ſucces, and enterpriſes, howe ſoeuer the vndertaking of them out of ſeaſon may breed difficultie. A point which bindeth to frame your forces accordinge to your money, as often as you ſhall haue occaſion to warre with them, and to thinke that kinges in theirs are limited, howe powerfull ſo euer they be, and God only without.

Why money is called the ſinewe of warre.

T. H. holding your prouiſion of money aſſuredly in readines to pay your men, which I thinke wilbe ſufficient, hauing euer one yeares leuie (in which time a princes force in warres may very well be perceyued) muſt ioyne thereVnto your Generall, Captaines, and Councelours, ſuch as may be ſouldiors, without ſuffering this matter to be managed by any other, then ſuch as hath followed the warrs, moued with this reaſon, which is, that howe conſiderate, ſkilfull, or wiſe ſoeuer a man be, if he would haue a paire of hoſe made him of *Karſey*, he will not goe about to cut it, vntill the Taylor come and bringeth his ſheres, becauſe it is his office to cutt out the ſtuffe with leaſt waſt: ſo as well in warre, for want of ſome litle matter of mony, there may depende

Who are to manage matters of warre.

depende a no leſſe conſequence thereof a kingdome, men, honor, and life of all.

And albeit that moſt perſons will talke of warr, although they neuer practized it, I finde no better reaſon ſo fitt to excuſe them, as that the exerciſe of it is only proper to mē, who think they degenerate out of their kinde, except they be able to diſcourſe thereof: which firſte occaſioned the prouerbe, howe *Armes bred Nobilitie*, as peace ſciences, remembring the mariadge betwene *Iupiter Sauior*, and *Pitarchia*, which ſignifieth obedience, out of which mach *Felicitie* was borne, as out of the mother of *Mars*, were *Ignorance*, *Famine*, and *Peſtilence*, which were giuen to him for ſiſters.

Armes bred nobilitie.

Mariadg of Iupiter Sauior.

For that it is requiſite in all things, firſt to ſet downe the principall end, and afterwards the meanes which maketh it feazable to be attained, which can hardly be done without the knowledge thereof, firſte, *Y. H.* is to ſignifie vnto thoſe perſonages, which I haue mocioned, the diſſeyne which you purpoſe, for your taking armes by ſea or lande: cōmanding them to aduiſe of the number of your ſhipps, artillerie, munition, foote & horſſe, which you are to preſſe out of your aydes & gariſons, or to leauy a new for the cōpoſitiō of your Armie: which before they frame or lodge, they are to ſet down in comon the conſiderations, which they ſuppoſe neceſſarie (according to the manner of the warres) to doe it with more exquiſitnes, being able with them, as generall rules, to come more diſtinctly to intreate of what is fit particularlie to be handled, as cauſe ſhalbe offered, and the preſent time require.

The counſelors ar to be made acquainted with the motiue of the warre.

Y. H. going about to conquere * a kingdome, ſtate, countrey, or part of any ſuch, which is the *moſt ſecure warre for Princes, being voluntarie, and not of force as a defen-

* General conſiderations for to moue warr.

* Better teach him by clemencie and pietie to recouer ſuch his graundfathers territories as his father hath loſte, before he ouerbuſie himſelf with other.

siue is, giuing respite for your prouisions to be made in time, and layd in at the best season, is to be held a naturall matter in all sort of men, how much more, in kings the desire of a conquest, which a Prince vndertaking, is worthie of much commendation, though not to be reprehended, if he attempt not like enterprises, for many reasons which they ordinarilie haue, wherwith to be able to excuse them selues: when a conquest is vndertaken without cõuenient force to performe it, not only the people blameth him, but he committeth besides sundrie errors which causeth great inconueniences, * and who so coũcelleth him thereto vnder colour to make him more powerfull, procureth his ruine, & that coũcell is a prince to holde suspitious, where the conquest is not accommodated to the proportion of his forces, which althogh he hold great, such as the season and time may thinke conuenient for the entrepriſe, yet is it to be considered, whether it be fitter to mooue warre to another king, or to stay vntill he breake first, comparing the enimies forces with his owne, & whether it be better to haue many ioyne in league with him in making of the warre, or to vndertake it alone. Prouided that Kinges alwayes carrie them selues in like occasions, without being ouerled with their owne liking and passion, which seldom times councellors can temper, besides that when for their owne sake they will not tell any lyes vnto their prince, yet will they all shun to discontent him, euery one mooued with care of him selfe, which causeth many truthes to bee kept silent. Moreouer they must consider the qualitie of the kingdome which you attempt, what is the temperature, climate, and distance thereof, whether mountaynous or playne, dry or many riuers and woods, fertill, abundant, well peopled, or not: any store of townes, or Cities: whether those they haue be compassed about with any better defence then ordinarie walles, which they call *Casamuros*, what

* Especially where treasure is still exhasted vpon falfe alaromes, which proueth onely action and charge to defendants to preuent what was neuer ment. of whiche none can haue greater proofe then her sacred Maje. whose powerfull generals found 6000. of your Gallãts at your owne home but Galinas.

* As to your cost your experience of 1588. tried: when the councel of Pedro de Valdes was of more credit, then the Marquise of Santacruz.

what * entries or hauens they haue able to lande an hoſte or armie, with great exquiſitenes ſtill ſearchinge out the diſpoſition therof: and whether they be fortified: in what maner, whether onely the crabbednes of the ſtite bread, difficultie, or ſterilitie of the countrey about (a meanes which ſome haue vſed to ſtopp inuaſions into their kingdomes and Prouinces, not manuring the frontieres thereof, but making them lye waſt) whether it be a nation giuen to warr, able to endure all kinde of labor, or louers of their owne eaſe and quiet, which many times the compoſition of their bodies may occaſion, for the ſmal vigor is in them, enclining of them ſelues to eaſe, other through their euill education liuing in ydelnes: whether they holde military forme in generall, or ſome gariſons and ordinarie bandes, of more power in cauallerie or fanterie, or contrariwiſe. Likewiſe, whether they haue any quantitie of Shipps readie armed for defence thereof: if it be an Yland, or border much along the ſea coſte: whether the gouernement therof be caried in forme of a *Democracie*, which is, whē all the people in common, or the maior part of them hold ſouueraingtie and commaund, or *Ariſtocracie*, when a leſſer part of the people holde of one bodie within it ſelfe empire, & power, giuing lawes to the more ſorte of the reſt in generall, or particular: or *Monarchie*, which they tearme *Royal Senorie*, the Prince hauing iuſtlie conquered it, becōming Lord of their perſons and goods, vnder which he may be able to gouerne them with equitie, & yeelding vnto them libertie, with putting them in poſſeſſion and proprietie of their goods, from an abſolute Lorde eſtabliſheth then to him ſelfe the gouuernement of a *Royal Monarchie*: whether the Monarch or king be electiue, and if his authoritie conſiſte more in the body and voice of his Prelates, Nobles, & cities of the kingdome, then of his royal perſon, not being able to vſe diſcipline, enacte lawes, or impoſe tributes or

* Of ſundrie Engliſhe ſubiects (before they knew you of good worth & vertue) haue you ben cauſe of caſt away, thorough your exquiſitnes of traiterous eſpials and practiſes whoſe blood will one day lie heauie on your ſoule, whē no mortuary nor dirge ſhall or can help you.

Definicion of Democracie.

Ariſtocracie

Monarchie.

fynes, without conſent of the members of his kingdome, remayning in the Court: whether it come to him by ſucceſſion, or gayned by mariadge, or right of inheritance: what the age of the king is in poſſeſſion: what talent and partes God hath giuen vnto him: howe he vſeth them: what heires he hath, and whether he bring them vp, alowing them a hande in gouernement, or farre from him for ſuſpition: of what qualitie his officers be, which he retayneth about his perſon to aſſiſt him in gouuernement, and howe farre he yeeldeth vnto them: whether he accounte of Souldiers and men of warre, for affection hee beareth therevnto, or onely for neceſſitie, hauing among them any perſonages of experience and valour: whether he be more beloued or feared of his vaſſalls, in what ſorte his rentes ariſeth, the ſumme and quantitie thereof: whether hee bee able to augment them more, if he holde them free or charged with ſuch aſſignations as he ſhall haue giuen or ſolde vpon them: if he be gouerned by any Tutor or protector, through the minoritie of his age, or want of vnderſtāding: whether there be any Gouernor, either through the kings being taken priſoner, or for diſtancie from the ſtate, where the Prince, Gouernor, or Captaine general reſideth: whether that Kingdome or Countrey be frō before time with other fallen vnto him, or ſince the King or Prince enioyed it: whether the leagues he holdeth be onely perſonall or ſucceſſiue, to his heires: finally, whether the diſpoſition of that kingdome or ſtate be of ſuch a ſorte, as draweth the bordering Princes, albeit they are not confederate with it, not to ſuffer that any more powerfull ſhall enioy it, for the difficultie and feare of greatnes, looking the more narrowlie thereinto, for the conſeruation of their owne eſtate.

A naturall born Prince alwayes better beloued then a ſtranger.

Out of theſe conſiderations which I haue ſet downe, *Y. H.* may be able to ſerue your turne, in cōpaſſing ſuch forces as your armie ſhall neede: marking that alwayes a naturall

turall Prince holdeth a greater pledge of beeing beloued, then a ſtraunger, if his extremitie of vice doe not cauſe his vaſſalls to abhorre him. Therefore in the continuance of a long gouuernement, many occaſions & cauſes of noueltie are withdrawne and remoued, which the chance of an Empire draweth with it: the one opening the dore to the other, as one building the frame and workemanſhip of an other: for this cauſe a conqueſt is ſeldom times effected, without hauing ſome intelligence with them of the kingdome or ſtate, being an enterpriſe of greateſt daunger, to enter warre within a countrie, of which you ſhall hold no further knowledge then what you muſt be fayne to take by force and armes: the which extreemely delayeth the proceeding thereof, a matter which can not be auoyded, vntill you finde your ſelfe ſo farre within the Countrey, as the people for loue of their owne houſes, and impoſſibilitie which they ſee in maintayning of their wifes and children without them, conſtrayne them ſelues to ſuffer the yoke, in ſeeking to pleaſe thoſe, which impoſe it vpon thē. And likewiſe, the moſt ordinarie way is to entertayne ſpeach before with ſome whō you may perceyue diſcontented with the Prince, through his want of vnderſtanding, vicious cuſtomes, euill gouuernement, naughtie adminiſtration of iuſtice, and choiſe of miniſters, which engendereth partialities: loſſe of wealth, or couetouſneſſe in procuring of it: oppreſſions and greeuances without reaſon, which maketh honorable heartes to growe deſperate, reſenting more an iniurie then death, except the feare of God, and obligation of a ſubiect (which is not in any wiſe to admitt of any condition to make him faltar in the loyaltie which he oweth) reſtrayne them: or that Kinges refrayne their appetites and paſſions, conſidering it is with their owne ſubiectes.

Cauſes breeding diſcōtēt towards Kinges and Princes,

The loyalty of ſubiects admitteth, of no conditions,

Beſides this, another cauſe manie times ſtirreth vp ſub-

iectes to intend nouelties, and that is when their Prince hath no heire, and there be diuers pretendours to the ſucceſſion, which ſome will aſpire, making great ſhewe of the ſufficiencie of their partie to obteyne it: and other more ambitious, founding them ſelues vpon the authoritie and trayne they cary aſſay the ayde of neighbour Princes, to be able to poſſeſſe them ſelues of the commaunde, vnder ſuch profites or Townes as they can offer vnto them: diuers likewiſe are the readier, finding them ſelues in neceſſitie, hauing prodigallie waſted their ſubſtance, imagining that through want therof, they muſt needes decay in their credite and opinion, and then neceſſitie ſo mouing them, couer their ambition, vnder the title of libertie, vnder colour to remedy the publicke weale, their owen particuler being their principall end, & to deſtroy the generall, that with change they may bring their purpoſe about. Sometimes in like maner it falleth out, that there is either an eſtate or cities adioyning vnto the place attempted, whiche albeit they depend not thereon, the euill entreatie they haue receyued, may make them wiſhe that other might occupie the roome, offering thēſelues to their ayde, which is eftſoones alſo occaſioned through feare, and a forced good will, for that they are not able to giue anie impediment therevnto.

* Yow put a good and a fit caſe for their owne home to be inſtance: where to your vſurped eſtates a right heire can not be: and to your hereditarie Su Alteza may not think to run ſo cleare away with that: prieſts diſpenſations being but a mockery to contradict the direct ordinance of Iehoua, according to your owne cēſure pag. your Princes like Conies ſtill inceſtuouſly counterly-uinge, with their neareſt of tribe and conſanguinitie.

Of what quality perſōs ought to bee that are imployed in conqueſtes.

Thoſe perſons which *Y H.* is to vſe in this negociation, for the cauſes rehearſed, or any other that may occurre, ought to be men of vnderſtanding, and ſouldiours, albeit they cary no ſuch ſhewe, to be able to viewe in the entries and ſalies of the kingdome, the qualitie and commoditie of the countrey, and what for the better aſſurance of foraine forces may be found therein, and that they be not to light in beleeuing their offers, with whom they practize, which commonly bragge more then is cauſe, of their power, kindred, & account they holde in the kingdome, deſpi-

deſpiſing and ſetting their owne princes at nought: with which they make them beleeue, to the end the Prince, by whom they ſeeke to be releeued, ſhould more feruentlie imbrace the matter, that his deſſeine may be eaſilie compaſſed, through the ill ſatisfaction of the ſubiectes in generall, wherein great difference is to be made betweene men deſperate, and malecontent. The firſte whotly purſue the ruine of the Prince, endangering to bring it to paſſe, both ſubſtance and life: the other wiſhe innovations, but without hazarding their owne, more ſatisfying thēſelues with the preſent miſchiefe knowen, then the future good that is doubtfull. In ſuch ſorte, as both the one, and the other, ſerue as tynder for the fire of a ciuill warr, which to the deſperate bringeth reuenge, and encreaſe, and to the malecontents, comoditie & eaſe, which quickly maketh them to agree with the Prince, when ſoeuer he will but vouchſafe and yeeld anie authoritie vnto them. Notwithſtanding that they haue before taken armes, which hardly can be nouriſhed in a kingdome, or a ciuill warre mainteyned, without great ſuccours of money, and forraine ayde, by reaſon that you may by negotiation corrupt a kingdome, but not maintayne a warre within it, without force of armes, and much celeritie, for that the naturall Prince will with time euer gaine to be better followed, ſtrengthning him ſelfe by his owne authoritie and partie. It is likewiſe to be noted in this matter of malcontents, that they are to bee founde in all Kingdomes, Prouinces, and Courtes of Princes, it being annexed to humane nature, that men are neuer ſatisfied with thoſe things, which our Lord ordayneth, and with the gouuernement wherewith he guideth. And alſo it is not to be marueyled at, that they be ordinarilie diſcontented, with what contentement Kinges and Princes cary, being men, albeit in ſome actions wiſe and confident, which is occaſioned by the conceite that euery

Difference betwene deſperate, and malcontent

one

one hath of him ſelfe, bringing him to imagine that hee could gouuerne better then he that is in place, and vnder this to condemne the proceeding of any other. And there is another ſort of malecontents, in not ſeeing thẽſelues aduanced, and promoted to rule: which though they bee many in a kingdome, and of the principall ſorte, yet verie ſeldome can they alone be able to make a ſufficient partie, for to ſtirre vp a ciuill warre therein, with a foundation, & in maner that it may endure, notwithſtandinge that another Prince yeeld them aſſiſtance therein, except the commons and people, as well eſtraunge their affection from the Prince, for ſome cauſe which may mooue all to a generall diſtaſte, which is the ſureſt foundation to frame a ciuill warre vpon, and then not onely the principall men and great perſonages, but anie one whoſoeuer that hath valor or hardines, may be fitt to ſerue as *ſulfer for the nouriſhing of a fier of warr with facilitie, through the diſpoſition of the matter, and deteſtations whiche the commons and people conceyue, deſirous of Nouelties, wherby to better their owne eſtate: with which it commeth to be mainteyned, & to take roote in like maner, as ſtormes doe in gulfes, euery winde altering them, for beeing ſo prone to mooue them ſelues, whiche is not ſeene on the lande, though they be very boyſterous, & furious for the hardnes thereof, and on the ſea, in that it is a licquide bodie, a ſmall blaſt ſwelleth, and puffeth it vp, taking a motion in it ſelfe, thorough the qualitie of the diſpoſition thereof, which being once conceyued, the furie laſteth for a long time, albeit the firſt moouer ceaſe, and the rebellions of kingdomes in like maner, when they ſhalbe nouriſhed by commons, and the people, will laſt many yeares, though the heads which began them, may happen to fall & fayle. A reaſon which byndeth very diligently to conſider, of what qualitie the diſcontentment of a Kingdome or Pro-

*ulaquida.

uince

uince may be, whereby a ciuill warre may the better bee mainteyned therin, whether it be occasioned by any matter which breedeth a generall offence or no.

In all the prouisions or levies of men, which are made for any maner of warre, by sea or lande, it is ordinarilie to be vnderstood, that they be coloured with some different motiue, from what is meant, whereby no time may be giuen to the enimie to perceyue it, by preuenting disseins with the contrarie. An aduise verie necessarie, especiallie in conquestes, for many respectes, not being the least, that albeit that kings loue not to be vnsauorie to their subiects, thinking that they holde all sortes of money to content them with, when they please, yet at the verie houre that they discouer their disposition to take armes, there is no meanes nor negotiatiõ, which they will leaue vnpractized to reduce them to their trayne and affection, the thought hereof, being able to bynde them to be more liberall then gratefull, for their victories and seruices done: A meanes which bringeth them to be reconciled with those, whom before they feared, and to make the other leaue off their treaties with forraine Princes, which before they had, declaring them selues enimies to them, and assured to their owne.

Preparations of warr are to bee colored alwayes with some contrary end to the true meaning.

A matter which is fitt to be auoyded by concealing the causes of suspition, and that other Kings and Potentates may not linke themselues to assist him which assayleth, caried with an humor, which naturally a Royall blood is cõpounded of, in waxing fierce against any other King whõ they see growe in power and force, imagining that that his greatnes will ouerwaye the ballance, for that the one came not vp without the going downe of the other. And by reason that it is as easie a matter to Princes, to deceyue men by their deuises and negotiations which passe by paper, as it is harde in matters of publike actions, It is fitt to

What humor ordinarily raigneth in the blood royall of Princes.

couer their disseins and preparations, by seeking out of some notable apparant reasons, and as much as may lye in them to remoue such shadowes as are setled in their iudgment, which thinke them selues of greatest reach, & most pearcing vnderstanding.

Meanes for Princes to disguise their intended conquestes.

By no better meanes may this be effected, then in sending vpon such occasions Embassadours to those Kinges, who are most suspected would oppose thē selues to your disseins, plotting with them treatises of newe friendships, and good correspondencie, according to the humour and disposition, in which they shall finde them, lulling them a sleepe with such offers as may holde in suspence, and at the gaze, the more part of the potentates.

I haue thought good to signifie the premisses vnto *T. H.* for that the desire of sparing is naturall, not onely to all sorte of people, but to very Princes and Kinges, hauinge most times reasons to leade them therevnto: but *T. H.* can not haue a greater vigor, & surer foundation, then to stand cōtinually prepared, since that in not being so many greater mischiefes, and inconueniences may ensewe, then by the expence you should be at, & that with discretion you may suspecte double dealings, though *T. H.* for nothing in the earth would your selfe mynde the same, holding it for a most sure maxime, that who hath weapons & souldiers, preserueth friends, and despiseth him he seeth vnarmed, & by consequent, who standeth with his sworde in his hand, will take no great liking to content him, whom he seeth without, remayning thereby with great suspecte, and very small securitie.

Pointe of gouuernement.

When *T. H.* shall haue entertayned the Princes, & made your prouisions and leauies of men in readines, and in so good estate, as no time may be giuē to the enimie to arme him selfe further, it shalbe fitt that speedily among *T. H.* vassalls, in as short time as may be, you resolue of the enterprise

terprise you meane to execute, especially if it be against the infidells, barbarians, people or natiō of the qualitie as they are at enimitie withall, becauſe that being of them ſelues enclyned therevnto, they growe enflamed in that ſorte, as they embrace the very day it is publiſhed with great content and reioyſing, whereby two things are gayned: firſt, that they ſtand encouraged thereby to performe ſome extraordinarie ſeruice to *T. H.* in hope of the profit and ſucces ſhall enſewe thereof; ſecondly, moſt Princes and Potentates ſhall perceyue the affection which *T. H.* vaſſals carie towardes you, with what applauſe they performe the ſeruice: Notwithſtanding that it be done with exceſſiue expence of *T. H.* rentes, and they willing to ſupply parte thereof by diminution of their owne.

When any Prince ſhall attempt the kingdomes or eſtates of *T. H.* the warre is defenſiue, and then the motiue is to be reſpected, for which cauſe it is mooued, if it be to recouer any right, iniurie, or agreuance, which they thinke they haue receyued, or for a common enmities ſake, which the infidells and barbarians holde againſt all chriſtian Princes, cauſes which they call extrinſecall, or outward, for the deſtruction of a kingdome: intrinſecall, or inward be ſuch as I haue deſcribed, wherof there is no maruell, though ſome ſhall happen in any of *T. H.* eſtates, through fault of your gouuernours, being men as Princes are, and holdinge comoditie to condeſcend to their appetites and luſtes, thorough the power of the place, which they occupie: and ſometimes, when to giue contentment to their Prince, requiring of them ſome ſumme of money, or aſſiſtance of orher prouiſions, they ouer exceſſiuely charge the people, bringing them thorough this oppreſſion, to mutinie, without aduertiſing the Prince, what inconuenience may fall vnto him, moued therevnto by the pleaſure whiche they thinke they doe him therein, and imagining more

Defenſiue warre.

aduauncement and greatnes to growe vnto their owne persons thereby.

Three maner of ways to defend.

To defend may be done three maner of wayes, in salying to receyue the enimie without the kingdome, or to attende him vpon the confines thereof, manuing the frontiers as the roughnes or straightnes of the wayes and difficultie of passing the Riuers will yeelde commoditie. The

Diuision of the thirde manor of defence.

thirde may be likewise in two fashions, furnishinge with good store of souldiours and munition one or two frontieres or more, when they may be places well fortified, hauing within their view all the rest of the armie lodged to be readie vpon any good occasion: and the other, if the frontiers be weake, villages round about, and the fielde open, is to chuse such a scicte to lodge your army in, as may cherish the frontires, and renforce with people where you shall feare the enimie, will seeke to inuest him selfe by the demonstration alreadie declared.

Considerations vpon the first maner of defence.

In going forth to seeke the enimie, may well be noted a greater courage and gallantnes in him which attempteth, then which attendeth, and that ordinarilie the successes of warre fauor more the inuador then the defendor: beeing to be considered in this, that to assaile requireth more forces, then to be assailed, or at least, in reason they ought to be equall, hauing like consideration betweene the qualing of a conqueror, & seeing him selfe come to be sought out, the one of force constrayned to come to handes if he will seeke to enter an others house, and the other to arme in his owne defence, as the seruice shall requite: and in this manie are of opinion, that the souldior fighteth with greater courage out of his owne Countrie then at home, loosing the confidence of any other meanes to escape by, then the valor of his owne handes: Iointly they saye, that as the good housholder doeth not take so much care in ridding them that are vitiouslie giuen from his house, as in preuen

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ting that they come not at all, nor him to be a wiſe politician, which only chaſteneth theeues in the cõmon wealth, except he gouerne in ſuch maner, as they come not in, ſo neuer did wiſe Prince giue place to the enimie to ſet foote vpon his lande. If he had any meanes to hinder it, or conuenient forces to breake him before his entrie in.

On the contrary part, it is helde a daungerous reſolution to goe to ſeeke out the enimie, except it be holding a ſure place of retreate, or an other armie vpon the Confines or Frontiers, with which you may be ready to fight the ſeconde time: for that in doing otherwiſe, it were to endaũger a whole eſtate in one battayle, eſpecially when they goe not with ſuperior forces, or at the leaſt equall. Hauing to conſider vpon any ſuch occaſiõ, whether the Captaine be of valor and experience to whom the armie for the firſt iorney is commended, and that the Soldiours and men of warre be well trayned, & ſuch as loue the Captaine which guideth thẽ, for that this fayling, they will neuer performe any matter of worth, nor the Captaine, what faſhion ſo euer he carie, except he holde a confidence and aſſurance in his Souldiors, for their much obedience, promiſing to him ſelfe, that they will be as readie to obey what he ſhall commaund, as they likewiſe ſtande perſwaded of his ſufficiencie to be able to gouuerne. Likewiſe if the perſon of the Prince remayne with a ſecond armie vppon the Frontiers with a body of people readie to relieue it, if it ſhould retire, or to gather vp the reliques thereof, if there haue bin any loſſe, turning face to the enimie, which ſeldome times although he gayne a victorie, or route leaueth to be brokẽ in his owne force, & ſtrength, if the fight haue bin againſt olde ſouldiors.

Reaſons for not fighting out of their own countrey.

In the ſeconde maner you are to conſider, whether to keepe the paſſages and entries, may be done with few people, through the ſtrength of the ſcituatiõ, or with ſo many as

Conſideratiõs for the ſecond maner of defence.

as it muſt aſke a principal parte of the armie, for then commeth it to be diuided, and conſequentlie the firſt forces by the inferioritie hereof remayning broken, and the paſſage being loſt, it is impoſſible to fight with the ſeconde, or to be able in a long time to ſuccour the Frontiers or Cities, when the enimie ſhall giue vpō them, maiſtering the field, and if he chaunce to ſeeke out that parte of the reſt of the armie which hath remayned entiere, there is no other helpe lefte then to ſticke cloſe to ſome Towne or ſtronge place, to defende it ſelfe, attending ſuccour, if there be any hope thereof, ſo as the roome and place which they occupie be able to receyue it, and to holde victualls, for otherwiſe they ſhall finde them ſelues but in harde eſtate.

Conſiderations for the third manor of defence.

The third manner is of a greater ſecuritie by giuing time to time with it, which is the foundation to preſerue, enioyinge the benefit thereof, and may alwayes bee helde for ſuch when they ſuffer not much, cauſing then no leſſe damage. Beſides that ſeldome times is any kingdome or eſtate attempted, which holdeth all the entries thereof in ſuch wiſe as the very ſcituatiō by nature maketh thē harde, but that when they are ſuch, always ſome intelligence is had in them, or hope to gayne them by ſome cnuning ſtratageme: and if it be to inuade by Sea, euer to ſeeke out a porte or landinge place, where the artillery of Caſtells and plotformes may not reach the ſhipping at the landing of the men on ſhoare.

Conſideratiōs for the firſt forme of the third manner of defence.

It ſhalbe verie conuenient in the firſt forme of the third manner of defence to conſider, whether the fortification of the places or any of thē be ſo well vnderſtoode, as that probablie they may hope to defend it ſome monethes: what number of people ſuch frontire is capable of, holding munitions and victualls for it, for that the muchnes of ſoldiors is that which mainteyneth places for many dayes, albeit they be weake of them ſelues, and by conſequent

quent will prolonge the defence of a fourth monethes, if there be a head of valor and courage to mainteyne it, and Soldiours that conceyue the ſame opinion of him: with which vndoubtedlie the enimie muſt needes ſpende and weaken his forces, albeit the beſieged conſume them not, either in ſalies, trenches, or bateries, the time being the greateſt enimie that may be to thoſe, which beſiege, to whom in his degree it offreth no leſſe difficulties, prolonging thē from fight, then to be beſieged, beſides thorough peſtilence, want of victual, munition, paye, fowle weather, and other ſucceſſes, he which beſiegeth cōmeth very often to diminiſh his forces, the contrarie parte reſting with equalitie to ſuccor the place, albeit they before held them ſelues inferior in number, not hazarding in conſideration hereof, the whole for a parte, which ordinarilie falleth out when they will ſuccour a place within their owne eſtate, with the body of an armie, a reaſon which bindeth to prouide in this ſorte of defence, for the frontires and townes of ſoldiors, as if they ſhould not need any after ſuccours, & yet ſtill to prouide a new, as if they were not already prouided for, at the inſtant that any occaſion ſhoulde be offred.

In the ſecond forme of the third manner of defence, it is to be conſidered wether the ſcituation where the armie lieth for the defence of the places and frontires, be in ſuch a diſpoſition, as that one towne may be at hand to releaue an other, and that garriſon be put with cōmodite of well knowing the countrie, and euerie ſorte of wayes and paſſages, with which the enimie may not be ſo well acquainted, whereby he ſhall no ſooner giue vpon the place, then finde it furniſhed with ſouldiors, and an armie at hande, which may be able to put him to his trompes, and cut off victualls, cauſing for the preuention thereof euerie one to retire into the mayne, to breake downe mills, and bridges ouer riuers, and to cut downe quantities of trees: acroſſe the

Conſiderati ons for the 2. forme of the thirde manor of defence.

the wayes of the woods, to ſtop them: preuentions which cauſe much toyle to an armie, for that there is fewe, or none, as it is vſed nowe a dayes which can cary all neceſſarie cõmodities with it ſelf, not preſuppoſing to finde ſome within the Countrie, & when they ſhall preuent them but for a fewe dayes, by reaſon of the barrenes or depopulation of the place, many muſt finde them ſelues much annoyed. By this forme of defence, and diſperſing of the armie alongeſt the townes and frontires, which is almoſt all one, whileſt that the enimy conſumeth himſelfe thorough want of victualls, and other diſcõmodities, although he be Maiſter of the fielde, which cauſeth great trauaile to his armie, not holding inhabitation wherewith to refreſhe it, you are to conſider, that if the Prince which defendeth himſelfe holde not on his parte the affection of his vaſſalls, this kinde of defence will neuer come to any good, for that he ſhall not bee able to place within the townes ſo many ſoldiors, as may commaund the neighbours, who wilbe readie to giue paſſage to the enimie to free them of their oppreſſion, yeelding thẽ ſelues as ſoone as they ſhall ſee him neare their Townes: which is to confirme footing to the Conqueror, an incõuenience which can not be remedied without ſhewing a boldnes with it to reſolue to fight, and to lodge ſo neare the enimie, as that the very thought thereof, may make him not to let goe much of his people frõ their lodging, looking to fight, & the countries to ſtand in ſuſpence, without daring to declare thẽ ſelues, vntill they ſee the end of the iorney. In lodging ſo neare, you muſt alwayes chooſe out a ſtrong ſcituation: when you can not, you muſt by arte cauſe ſuch a one, eſpecially if you be fewer in cauallerie, or fanterie, thẽ the enimie to be able to equall the inferioritie thereof, with the aduantage which a good lodging and ſcituation may yeeld to fight, for which there needeth no leſſe trauayle, then the bu-

buſines requireth, which is ſo hard a matter to emcampe, nor leſſe experience in the generall, being one of the greateſt actes that are in warre, and which ſeldome hath bene ſeene.

Y. H. may in like ſorte, prepare your men in readines to defend your ſelfe, by preuenting ſuch King or common wealth, as you may haue warr with, or any ſuſpition of his breaking with you, & on that parte where *Y. H.* imagineth he may moſt annoye you, vſing in this caſe the meane of diuerſion: the enterpriſe which you are to execute by ſea or land, muſt be handled with greate ſecrecie and ſpeede, leſt the enimie preuent by gayning the hand: you muſt in this, reſpect the qualitie of the action, & whether it require more cauallerie then infanterie, or light foote, which muſt aſſure footing where you meane to hinder the enimie, or vpon any ſeruice done, to retire them ſelues.

Conſiderations in war by way of diuerſion.

As well may *Y. H.* leauie men in aſſiſtãce of ſome Prince, with whom you ſtande confederate: by reaſon of ſuch league as you holde with him, which ought to bee kept with all preciſenes. *Y. H.* and all Princes being engaged to keepe their faith and worde, and contractes made vppon truſt thereof, for two conſiderations: firſte for that by the lawe of nature contractes are to be mainteyned: and ſecondly, a Prince is to keepe his faith and worde, for that it ought to ſtande as a pledge and inviolable gage, as well towardes ſubiects as all other maner of perſons, well carying in remembrance what God ſignified by the mouth of the Pſalmiſt, ſaying: *Et quæ procedunt ex labijs meis, non faciam irrita.* In this nothing more reſteth to be conſidered, when the number of men ſhall ſtand limited in the capitulation, then whether ſuch aydes ſhalbe drawne out of the olde ſoldiors and ordinarie garriſons of *Y. H.* or of men which are to be leauied of newe, vnder experimented Captaines.

Conſideration for making Warre to aſſiſte a confederate Prince.

A Prince is bounde to keepe his faith.

Pſal. 88.

Y. H. may in like ſorte imploye your forces for the con-

seruation of any Prince, or cõmon weale which you hold vnder your protection, albeit the qualitie of a Protectour comprehendeth not any subiection of his inferior vnder him, nor giueth any right at all to commaunde, but onely a certaine honor & reuerence which they owe vnto him, which put them selues vnder his protection. A matter nothing at all diminishing therby any authoritie of their Soueraintie, not yeelding power to the Protector to ouerrule: whereby it may be gathered, that the Prince which putteth him selfe vnder protection, is of lesse authoritie, then he which yeeldeth tribute: for that in paying tribute he resteth free and exempt, but he which is vnder protection, hath euer neede to be defended: which bindeth thẽ to take greater securitie on their parte, then the Protector shall neede, by reason they are inferior vnto him, & a daũgerous matter to admit a protector, except for wante therof he shalbe forced to fal into his enimies hands. In which is to be considered, that a protector must holde some interest in defending such as flye vnto him, and that for the conseruation of his owne estate, because in any other sort such protection wilbe but of small durance, & many times it falleth out, that when one hath yeelded him selfe in protection as to a souerane, he may for some other particular acknowledge the subiectiõ of a vassall, asking in such case ayde of his Protector, he is bounde in double obligation, to defende him: especiallie if his person be interessed in the quarell, honor, and goods, * all Ciuilians agreeing, that a Prince can not in reason take into his protection, anie vassall against his Lord, except he haue iust occasion of quarell against him: which requireth a good cõsideration to be had of such as they take into their protectiõ, for that it draweth manie inconuenients with it. If the protection be not iust, because all protections and leagues made with a powerfull Prince, carieth with it selfe an obligacion to take

Consideratiõ for making warre being a protector.

*Howe still you cõclude with your owne error, acknowledging hereby the great vniustice you haue done her Maiesty by hauinge norished & giuen pencion to so many English trayterous subiects.

take armes in their defence, rũning the ſame fortune which they doe, except a neutralitie be ſpecified in the contract, the honor and profit of what is conquered, remayninge onely to the protector a forme of capitulation, which is not vſed in theſe times, except it be when the conquerour will giue what lawe he liſt to the conquered.

Y. H. may in like manner take armes for the aſſiſtance of ſome Prince, with whom you doe not ſtand confederate, nor holde in your protection, moued only therevnto thorough the iniuſtice which is don him, and being conuenient that he which aſſayleth ſo much without reaſon, ſhould not make himſelfe more powerfull, neighbouring to *Y. H.* eſtates, in which is to be reſpected the qualitie of the Prince, and his forces, which defendeth himſelfe in cõpariſon of himwhich aſſayleth, & if there be more need of caualery or fantery, munitiõ or artillery: if you aide him with men, they muſt goe well payd, and diſciplined, ſo as they may be able to ſerue for a ſalue to his ſoare, & not to feſter with the inſolencies & agreeuances which they ſhall commit vnder color of neceſſitie, which cauſeth them no leſſe hate among the countrie people where they warre, then they beare to their proclaymed enimies.

Conſideration for making war in the defence of the oppreſſed.

No leſſe is it fit that *Y. H.* arme your ſelfe in being prepared to preſerue your vaſſalls, hauing warr betweene two Princes whoſe kingedomes and eſtates border vpon *Y. H.* ſhewing your ſelfe neutrall, and that you ſtand not vnfurniſhed of forces thorough the ſuſpition yeelded in ſeeing them two arme, it being a no leſſe conuenience to preuent an iniurie, then hauing receyued it neceſſarie to reuenge, and this to performe without engaging your ſelfe in their warres, giuing aſſiſtance to neither, holding for a ſure grounde that if you doe, the loſſe wilbe generall, and the fruit of the victorie his onely who mainteyneth the quarrell, and your ſelfe enforced to proclayme enmitie to ſuch

Conſideration for to arme ſtanding neutrall.

a Prince as neuer offended you ſtanding neutrall there are euer founde occaſions and meanes to worke a peace betweene thē, gayning honor and thankes of each, beſides preſeruing your owne eſtate with the ones ruining of the other, for that among the beſt iudgements it is helde that the greatnes of a Prince is the deſtructiō of his neigbours, and his power not able to growe greater thē by the weaknes of the other Kings, and common wealthes, founding their ſecuritie by equalling their forces one with the other: And albeit ſome hold it for good, that not withſtanding they ſhew them ſelues neutrall, yet ſecretly to kindle the fire of a warr, in ſteed of quenching it, as the meanes to preſerue their owne eſtate, to haue the other two Princes by the eares togeather, it is a matter which can hardlie lie couered, & once being vnderſtood, in the end the two parties, as perſons which approued themſelues, come to agree to ſpende their forces vpon the third, wherby he ſtandeth moſt ſecure, which holdeth himſelfe neutrall, mainteyning his owne eſtate, without intermedling in any ſorte with the warre of his neighbours.

Conſideration for making warre vpon the rebellion of their owne ſubiects.

Occaſions may alſo fall out, vpon which *Y.H.* ſhall ſtand in need to leuie men, enabling your ſelfe therby and with taking armes to chaſtiſe ſome ſedition or rebellion of your ſubiects in which no iot of time is to be loſt for many reaſons, not being the weakeſt, that ſuch Princes, as ſuffer riſings of Cōmunalties, Cities, or Prouinces, giue example to other to folowe the like, when they ſee them not armed to puniſh thē, which if they be, it is a meanes to draw thoſe vnto their Prince, with better will, which haue not declared thē ſelues againſt him, ſeeing him followed with men, and that he will not ſuffer himſelfe to be trodden vnder: ſtanding aſſured that he holdeth more certayne meanes to reward, then rebells, vpō whoſe partie, larger promiſes doe euer paſſe, then can be obteyned, as well through the violence

lence, with which thoſe that riſe are enforced to proceede in the beginning of their rebellions, as for the noueltie which they muſt neceſſarilie execute, with much extorſion: agreeuances whiche pleaſeth many voluntarilie to heare of, when they ſee ſecuritie of armes on their Princes parte: ioyntly the authoritie of an empire and rule is more ſtrenghtned by the vigor of forces, which is very daungerous for you to employe againſt your owne ſubiects, except in humane reaſon there appeare a certentie that you ſhall come to an end by puniſhing of them, leaſt you arme the Lion with clawes, to hurte his gouuernour, and fight with diſaduantage, with a rouer or pirate, who augmēteth and reenforceth himſelf with the damage of the contrarie, and gayning of his ſhipping: ſufficient conſiderations to moue a Prince not to embrue his ſworde in the bloode of his vaſſalls, if it be not done with much ſecuritie, differring it with ſuch ſecret means of negotiatiōs, as may be offered to reduce ſome of the principall heads of the inſurrection, by treaties of grace and pardon, as may moue them, enioying the benefit of time without ſuffering thinges to runne ſo rawe, as that another ſhoulde thruſt himſelfe in, wherby he ſhould be enforced to graūt it, & ſo finde himſelf neither in ſtate to mainteine an offenſiue warr againſt thē, nor to come to a peace, without much diſaduantage, through the wronges receaued, cauſing the wounde to vlcer by the aſſiſtance with other Princes ſhall giue to mainteyne the rebellion, & by that meanes weaken the Princes force, of whoſe greatnes and power they ſtoode in feare, which (how troubleſome it would growe to a Prince) a holy Doctor foreſeeing, writeth: *Plerumque Rex iuſtus etiam malorum errores diſſimulare nouit, non quod iniquitati eorū conſentiat, ſed quod aptum tempus correctionis expectet, in quo eorum vitia emendare valeat, vel punire*: which ought to be put in executiō after the gayning of a victorie, not otherwiſe:

Saint Iſidor lib. 3. Sent. Cap. 5.

ſo as the puniſhement may ſeeme to be done for a good example and not reuenge: albeit the Barbarians holde it the better parte of a victorie, to refrayne the iuſt furie of ſhedding blood, and anger of men, when it falleth out betweene thoſe which before loued togeather, although occaſion haue bin giuen to the contrarie. A paſſion which can hardlie be cooled in a Prince, except he conſider the taſte of reuenge to laſt but few dayes, and the ioye of pietie eternallie, and ſo to accompanie iuſtice with clemencie, that it be no crueltie, and clemencie with iuſtice, that him ſelfe runne not into contempt. This bindeth in the inſurrections of Cities & Prouinces, or mutineys of men of warre, to puniſh ſuch as make the beginninge, or firſte motion, being authours thereof, pardoning the moſt part in generall, ſince it is not poſſible to puniſhe a multitude.

The reaſons which I haue propounded may be occaſion to take armes as well on *Y. H* parte as of any other Prince or Potentate. So may there be other which I write not for being to tedious, and that they are ſufficientlie comprehẽded in the before mentioned, the cõſidérations ſet downe being able to ſerue for a rule as well to the one as the other, in reſoluing what foote or horſe, artillerie, or munition is fit to be leuied for the compounding of an armie, or fleete of ſhippes, if the ſeruice be by Sea: many are of opinion that it were much better to compounde it of one onely nation, then of diuers, in reſpect of the diuerſitie of language, and cuſtomes, which partlie cauſeth confuſion vpon manie occaſions, not onely in lodgings, but in fight, whereby ariſeth diuerſitie of complaintes, infecting them ſelues in ſuch ſorte as hath cauſeth the very loſſe of whole armies, and for that ordinarily among thoſe of that qualitie, are ſouldiors which ſerue onely for ſuch paye and pillage, as in particular may fall out in the warre, with eyther

Opinions in forming an armie of one onely nation or diuers.

ther of which wanting, they laye aſide the reputation, good and greatnes of the Prince (owing no further fidelitie to him then their ſeruice) for their priuate intereſt to whom their very Leaders giue aſſiſtance, moued with the gaine they haue in payes and muſters, in which they are greatlie intereſſed, alwayes making ſuch regimentes and leauies of men, more for reſpect of profitt, then anie affection they cary the Prince. Hence it doeth ryſe that they haue often refuſed to fight, at the very time of neceſſitie, and gone and ſerued the contrarie parte, without reſenting any whit at all to haue fayled in their fidelitie not being payde: whereby the enimie commeth to bee ſtrengthned, the contrarie parte remayning more weake.

Likewiſe ſeldome times doe Kings & generall Captains vnderſtande ſo many languages as to bee able to ſpeake to euery one in his owne: a matter which naturally maketh them affectionate, and winneth them to obey with more readines, and ſooner ſtirreth them vp to fight.

On the other ſide experience hath proued great Captains to haue combated and warred yeares enough with armies of different nations, without euer hauing had any mutinies or ſedition among them, & gayned many victories, and that one nation can hardly accommodate it ſelfe without a very large and continuall experience in teaching the mānage of ſuch diuerſitie of armes, as is neceſſarie for ſoldiers to vſe at this day in the armies. In this reſpect and conſideration men of auncient time were of opinion, that thoſe inſtruments of warre were of much credit and eſtimation among the moſt parte of people, as mought ſerue them without any exerciſe at all before had of them, and ſo we ſee one nation more fit for the readines of the Harquebus, and other for the ſtande and firmenes of the Pike, and better able to endure to goe and march armed: and

Reaſon on the other ſide.

and ſo by conſequent as well in the Cauallerie, better accommodating them ſelues with the demi-lance & armor, or * with *Tablachinas*, & other with very long ones of two headdes, without any Iackes of mayle or corſelettes, and ſome carying light horſe ſtaues, leading ſtaues, and Targuettes, & other with Piſtolls, or long Petrionells: which difference of armes is as well required to be conſidered, as the horſſes may be able to beare out therewith in combat beſt. The verie reaſon which at the firſt moued men to inuent them, proportioning them according to the fitneſſe of ſuch horſe, as the Prouince or Climate did breede, affirming iointlie, that it is a very hard matter at this time, to be able to frame an armie of one entiere nation, when it is not for the defence of the ſame kingdome, vpon the invaſion of any ſtranger, for the diuerſitie of conſiderations which may therein be offred. And in particular, whether the Prouince be ſo well peopled, as that it may yeelde ſo great a nũber of men, as is neceſſarie for the maintenance of a warre abroad, the which euery day conſumeth men, and to breede ſouldiers, it is neceſſarie to employ youthes which haue paſſed ſixteene yeares at the leaſt: and in caſe ſo much people may be drawne out of the Countrie, and ſo many men trayned among them as is fit for the diuerſitie of armes, vndoubtedly an armie of one entiere nation, is much more to be eſteemed, which cõforme them ſelues in cuſtomes, and language, then of diuers: which ought to beare parte, and all to depend of one ſelfe ſame cauſe, thereby to be the more vnited in their conſeruation, and by conſequent their force of greater vigour. Of this there are not onely probable reaſons, but effectes, conſideringe that the greateſt Empires which haue bene, haue augmented and preſerued them ſelues, by warring with the Souldiors of their owne nation onely, with whom they made an entier body of their armie, lodging ſuch of other nati-

* Kindes of Buckleres made in Chyna much vſed in Italie.

The beſt cõpoſition of one entire nation, if it may be.

ons

tions as came to their ayde a parte, thereby giuing to vnderſtande that they depended not of them.

In this caſe hath our Lorde made *Y. H.* ſo powerfull a Prince, as that you poſſeſſe kingdomes, and many Prouinces, out of which you may forme great armies of one entiere nation or diuers, being all your vaſſalls, or ſuch countries aſſiſting you, where you haue Coronells in paye for the ſame effecte: and ſo may *Y. H.* chuſe the partie moſt conuenient, according as your generall Captaines ſhall be of opinion, & the forme of warre may require which you vndertake, and in what Prouince or ſtate: particularities which will giue light to the reſolution of your leauies and places of muſters which are to be aſſigned, accordinge to their order and ſecuritie.

Some are of opinion that in thoſe Councells which Princes holde, for giuing of order to leauie men, it ſhould be verie cõuenient, the Princes perſon not being in place preſent, not to name any general at all, vntill all prouiſions were at an end: preſuppoſing that there would be foũd ſo many perſons fitt for the ſame charge, as that the findinge of anie one to be named, would bee an occaſion for the more parte to backward the ſeruice, encreaſing the other inconueniences which mought be founde therein, mooued by the competitorſhipp which is naturallie founde among men of one profeſſion. I will aſſure *Y. H.* that this is a conſideration of much moment, & not able to be kept with puntilio, for many occaſions which offer thẽ ſelues, wherein neceſſarilie a Captaine muſt be declared before the leuies, being the beſt meanes for the eaſie diſpatche of them and the enterpriſe: and that which is moſt troubleſome to a ſouldior is, that the circumſtance of euery particular caſe is of that importance, that he is bound to hold ſuch rules as in generall, he may finde to guyde him by, worthying him ſelfe herein by his owne eſtimation, as the

Conſideration for the not naming of a generall

principall parte which a ſouldior is to obſerue.

Qualitie of a Generall.

All your leuies and preparations being once in a readines, Y.H. may, if it be not already done, nominate the generall of the enterpriſe, and the moſt headdes of the armie, which ought to be ſoldiors, conſidering that manie haue courage enough to fight, which wante wiſedome to be able to commaunde, and combat in the fielde, it being the greateſt matter of importance to be required at a gouuernours handes, and in particular the Campe maiſter generall ought to haue good ſkill in ſoulderie, for that the executió of his office is no wayes permiſſiue to any other perſon then a ſoldior of many yeares and experience, being the liuely voice and ſpirit of the generall, which hee participateth to the armie, if he be a ſouldior: and in caſe he be not one, the actions of the Campe maiſter generall, in reſpect he is ſo neceſſarie, giueth ſpirit & life to the Generalls, in ſuch ſorte as he commeth to be helde a ſouldior, though in deed he be none. The which hath made mee, diſcourſing vpon this matter, to affirme ſundrie times, that men may be borne generalls, but not Campe maiſters generalls, which is the ſecond perſon of the armie, ſince that the Generall thereof fayling, howe great perſonages ſo euer carie any other charge, it apperteyneth to the Campemaiſter generall to giue the worde, and likewiſe to adminiſter ciuill and criminall iuſtice throughout the armie, in the name of the Prince or his Lieuetenant generall: and to this effecte, he holdeth about him men of learning, and the great Prouoſt. I ſpeake not of a Campe maiſter generall, where there is a Coneſtable in an armie, that being no office nowe in vſe, with like preheminences as they were wont to haue in former times, being more or leſſe in one Prouince thē in an other, but in deed the charge of a Conſtable is a Lieutenant of the Kings perſon in peace or war, & in all matters depending theron within the kingdome.

Qualitie of Campe-maiſter generall.

Office of Conſtable.

Men

Men in olde time esteemed it sufficient for the warre, to haue some good partes in those which commanded, as to guyde & order armies, to vanquishe the enimie, which they perferred before most morall vertues, which ought to be wished in a Captaine to be able with his wisedome, and sharpnes of witte, to compasse such matters, by the helpe of some naturall giftes, as courage, quicknes, affabilitie, endurance of travailles, and like qualities which hold affinitie with moral vertues, though they be none, and verie necessarie in the exercise of warre.

I haue handled with like precisenes, of what condicion the person of the Campe maister generall ought to be, by hauing sundrie times considered, that there seldome happeneth a generall, which is a souldior of experience, albeit that wisedome and excellent partes, are in no charge more to be desired then in persons which are to gouuerne armies, for that the matters are innumerable which they are to prouide for, and to commaunde, carying withall a wauering common wealth of men vpon their shoulders, besides a multitude of accidentes, presenting them selues euerie moment and varietie of cases, vpon which they are to resolue with quicknes and determination. And albeit in all estates, benefites and graces vndeserued, fall out to be preiudiciall to those which receyue them, in the charges of warres, it is groaped at with more certaintie then in any other, for the mischiefe which falleth out euery moment, whē such a one occupieth a charge as knoweth not what it meaneth, imagining that they are able to discharge it only through the confidence which they haue of themselues A matter easily confirmed, if you doe but consider how great enterprises many Princes haue atcheeued without euer hauing folowed the warre, by meanes of recommending them, and their armies to such as were soldiors.

If *Y. H.* disire to holde within your Kingedomes many

Meanes to make ſouldiours.

perſons to be able to ſerue you, as well for Generalls as in other charges of warre, there can not be a better meanes then that which is vſed in vniuerſities to preſerue ſciences, and to cauſe rare men of learning among them: which is, that notwithſtanding the greateſt nobilitie in blood, fauour of kindred, riches, or ſhewe of abilitie, which he can holde that is willing to followe in the vniuerſitie, the profeſſion of any ſcience, yet can none of theſe thinges pointed out by them ſelues, or all ioyned togither, bee able to make him a graduate, haſtening the courſes which are neceſſarie for it, except him ſelfe hath helde them, & ſo when he reſenteth him ſelfe moſt of his fortune, it is in bewayling that he ſtudied not yeeres ſooner, to be able to enioy the reward, and not in that other holde it with leſſe gage and courſes then him ſelfe, a matter apparant euery day in the ſoulderie and warrfare which *Y. H.* holdeth, many by fauour, and interceſſion of friendes occupying charges which they neuer deſerued by their experience in the armie, or for anie ſeruice done, cauſing ſuch as haue to grow deſperate in ſeeing thoſe preferred, and them ſelues left out. In ſuch ſorte as the hope which before ſerued them for rewarde, imagining that paſſing ſo manie yeares in following an armie, they ſhould come to be capable of the rewarde, whereof they ſee them ſelues defrauded, nowe fayleth them, thorough the fauor and negotiation which other holde, & this kinde of ſingularitie being once vſed, ſtraight followeth corruption, which marreth all: which breedeth a hatred in the armie, diſcouraging them in ſuch ſorte, as the militarie diſcipline commeth to be confounded altogither, by altering the conſeruation and ſoundnes thereof: a matter which would breede the like inconuenience in learning, were it not for the inuiolable order of yeares which they muſt needes ſpende in ſtudie, and ſuch courſes, ſince whether they bee of abilitie or no, to haue

haue neuer ſo good pledge, they can not bee admitted to degree, before their dew exerciſes and courſe bee performed. A reaſon which mought moue *T.H.* to ordayne, that none ſhould be * Corporall, before he had ſerued ſome yeares vnder colores, and more for a Seriant, and by conſequent of an * Alferes, or Captaine, riſing from his degree to be a Campe maiſter, * *Alcayde*, or Caſtillane, with time ſet downe, inviolablie obſeruing the ſame order in your warrfare, which *T.H.* holdeth in your eſtates of foote and horſſe of all nations. By this meanes there will be founde many ſouldiors worthy to receyue charge, being capable of them: ſince that the Turke by obſeruing this courſe, findeth them, ouer whoſe armies and Prouinces we ſee none put to commaunde, that hath not experience to enable him thervnto. Neither doth *T. H.* want ſubiectes of learning within your Kingdomes, for the exerciſe of ſuch charges and dignities as are to be adminiſtred with them, all men animating themſelues to take paynes thorough a certain hope of rewarde, and ſince that vertue accompanied with learning without needing any other manner of gage rewardeth it ſelf, in the eccleſiaſticall ſtate and lawe, wherein in all ages their are found very ſingular men, let *T. H* likewiſe reward valor & experience in warr, and there will neuer be want of excellent Captains, to preſerue, and augment your Kingdomes and eſtates, nor of couragious ſouldiors, God hauing giuen vnto *T. H.* Prouinces in which men of great ſtrenght are bred, and ſo great diſciplines to make them ſkilfull and obedient.

My meaning is not in writing that theſe orders are to be obſerued in warlike diſcipline, to ſet it downe with ſuch preciſenes, as that I imagined *T. H.* ſhould not be able to diſpenſe as occaſions and ſucces of time ſhould require, being a thing annexed to the authoritie of a lawe-giuer to be able to alter the ſame alwayes, as the common good

* Cabo de Eſquadra. There is no place of Liuetenant in the Spaniſh Diſcipline but the ancient direction of the king is, *A mueſtros Capitanes y Cabos de eſquadra.*

* *Alferez*, an Auncient.

* *Alcayde*, A Captaine of a Fort.

ſhould require, which is that which firſt cauſed it to bee eſtabliſhed: but to bee done ſeldome times and that for ſeruice of ſo great conſideration, as the people may come to alowe thereof, in ſuch wiſe as they may holde it for a good lawe not to obſerue the former: Like vnto this was *Scipio* his aunſwere to the people of *Rome*, murmuring that charges, and triumphes were yeelded vnto him, before he was of yeares, and age ſufficient for them: *Si vos ætatem meam honoribus veſtris anteiſtis, & ego honores veſtros rebus agendis præceſi.*

Tit. Liu. li. 8. 4. Decad. vel lib. 38.

Meanes that they ſteale no payes.

And to the end the Captains of *Y H.* ordinarie companies may not ſteale payes, which cauſeth great inconuenience, & when ſo many doe ariſe as can not be amplified, the loſſe of your monie being the leaſt to bee reckoned among them: let *Y.H.* commaunde the paye of your Captains, Officers, and Soldiors to be encreaſed, in ſuch ſorte as they may be able to mainteyne themſelues, and to ſerue you well armed, according to their charge: And this to be done by way of reward, aduantage, or otherwiſe, framing the encreaſe of paye, according as the qualitie of the Prouince where they reſide, the climat therof, plentie or want of victualls ſhall require, making it ſtande for an honor not to ſteale payes: which if they once growe to eſteeme, not to blot their life in the leaſt point, they will make leſſe accompte of wealth, hauing paye to mainteyne them ſelues, and that Captaine and Officer to remayne diffamed for euer, which ſhall auow to haue more ſoldiors then ſuch as in deed folow his colores, a puniſhment which will bridle them, and make them lothe to bee deſeruers of it: and let *Y.H.* hold them in eſtimation, giuing honor vnto them, without diſpiſing armes, which doing is the cauſe of looſing ſtates, as the maintenance thereof is to perſerue them, and the only meanes to conquer other, according as great Empires haue bene, when they haue bene founde vnfurniſhed

niſhed of armes, ſhipps and ſoldiors, like vnto great buildings when their propps faile which were many yeares in framing, but by like defects marred themſelues, and fallen in fewe monethes.

And let not *Y. H.* ſuffer your ſelf to bee perſwaded that you ſhalbe able to make warre although you haue no experimented Captains, in reſpect that you are a moſt ritch Prince, and Lord of ſo great Kingdomes, in which all ſorte of armes and inſtruments of warre can be forged without help from ells where, two things being moſt certain, as the *Caſtillian* prouerbe goeth, *Armas y dineros buenas manos quieren:* both which require to be put into their hands which know how to mannage them, and hold experience how to exerciſe them both to good purpoſe.

El comendador Hernan Nunes en el lib. de los reſtituta A

Y. H. hauing named the generall and heads of the armie, is to aduiſe with him and the reſt in what manner you are to make your warre, in which you are to harken to, and folow their opinion which offer to execute the councells more, then theirs which giue them, not being themſelues to put any hande thereto, (in caſe the reſolution bee not ouerraſh, nor any euident perill therein) ſince that both honor and life in their owne opinion lying on it, they will looke into it with more open eyes thē others, with greater affection and will, putting that in execution which themſelues firſt counceled.

Likewiſe *Y. H.* hauing your leuies and prouiſions in a readines, and your armie compounded, is to conſider, calling in like manner vnto you the heads thereof, and the other of your Councell, what proclamations & inſtructions are fitteſt to bee publiſhed, as well to hold the people in good diſcipline, as in reſpect of the publicque good: & when as the heads of the nations which are in the armie haue not bene at ſuch your councells, being better that they were preſent, you are to cōmunicate them vnto thē, whereby

whē inſtructions ar to be giuen.

wherby they approuing them, may with greater care procure the accompliſhing thereof. This being done, and reſolution taken vpon them, *Y. H.* ſhall commaunde them to be ordayned, and that they be giuen to the Prouoſte generall, that he may cauſe them to be publiſhed in their tyme, and that to be done in ſo many languages, as there are nations in the armie, to the end none may plead ignorance, impoſing conuenient puniſhments for thoſe which break them, commaunding them to bee executed with all preciſenes without the requeſt or interceſſion of any hindering it, ſince that otherwiſe you ſhal neuer haue obedience in warre, becauſe that in the heads of armies, ſoftneſſe and mildneſſe without conſideration is more hurtfull, then ſharpneſſe and rigor in puniſhing, and therefore a forbidding or prohibition in matter of lawes and ſtatutes is altogeather vnprofitable, except a penaltie bee annexed, and a penaltie but a ſcarcrow, except it be put in execution: and albeit that the diſcipline of warre ought to be more ſeuere then the ciuill or politicque, for that ordinarily the penalties are loſſe of hand or life, yet are they not to be impoſed to ſo manie things, as that the rigor of them ſhould come to a bloodie crueltie, but a meanes whereby the ſoldiors may ſtand in awe of the ſeueritie of their Captaine, without abhorring him for his crueltie.

When *Y. H.* ſhall haue in readines your cauallerie and infantery, munitions, artillery and neceſſaries fit for them, and that you haue cauſed them to be rayſed for the enterpriſe, & preciſelie knowne the whole number of the men, by the muſters which haue been taken in diuers places, not ouercharging one countrie with the whole, *Y. H.* may in the ſame reſpect order their march, cauſing it to be done by ſundrie wayes alongeſt the frontires and confines of the Kingdome to the place where *Y. H.* ſhall hold it moſt conuenient to ioyne your campe togither: prouided that

you

you chooſe the ſcituation thereof in good grounde, with commoditie of wood, water, and forage to lodge the armie, not being a matter neceſſarie as then to looke into ſuch other particularities as I will hereafter handle, which are to be required in their lodgings, and that this be done onely with an ende to ioyne the armie in one bodie, ſo as the diſpoſing of the market place, quarters, and fortification of the whole armie, may be able to ſerue for viewe and paterne in theſe generall matters of the reſt of the lodgings, which muſt be accommodated accordinge to the qualitie of the ſcituation, demonſtration of the enimie, & maner which you holde in warr, the circular forme in lodging, not being of any importance, nor the quadrangle, triangle, or in length, which is moſt ordinarilie vſed.

Qualities of the firſt lodging.

And here you muſt chuſe ſuch a * market place, as may be large enough to cõteyne all your men in battaile, vpon any alarom by day or night, in ſuch ſorte, as a diſtance be lefte betweene one ſquadron and an other, as well of fanterie as cauàllerie, that men may paſſe commodiouſlie, if occaſion require, being able with facilitie to cloſe one within another, as ſhalbe neceſſarie: neare vnto the market place, the quarters are to be appointed, euery one ſetting out their colors in fronte, whereby the mẽ may with more readines, gathering them ſelues togither, come out vpon the alarom to forme the eſquadrons.

* Plaça da armas.

Some alowe to euery colors tenn pace to lodge in frunt, and in depth thirtie or more, according as the companies are of greatnes, & of diſtance from the front of the colors to the place where they are to ſtande in ſquadrõ, the ſpace of thirtie or fourtie paces, and from the front of the ſquadrons to the fortificatiõ of the trenches, betweene fifteene and twentie: conſidering that when men come to fight, and cloſe, they occupie farre leſſe ſpace & place of groũd, then when the eſquadron ſtandeth ſtretched forth: mea-

ſures which ſerue in maner of compaſſe, that the market-place be not diſproportioned, wherein there is to be conſidered that when the men ſhall ſtand in battaile, a conuenient place be lefte. If neceſſitie require, for any ſquadron what ſoeuer of Cauallerie or infanterie to paſſe, betweene the backe of the ſquadrons and the fronte of the quarters, without diſordering them ſelues, entring by the quarters, nor to cauſe ſhunning this inconuenience the reſt of the ſquadrons to breake their owne: and likewiſe that at the fronte of the ſquadrons, there be a ſpace left for a ſquadrō of cauallerie or fanterie to paſſe without altering the order of the reſte, or ſalying forth of the trenches, and that it bee not ſo great, as to haue thereby the harquebuſrie, & pieces of the fielde to remaine vnfurniſhed, or other which are placed in the trenches or their traueſſes.

Place for the cordegarde.

In this market place where none ought to come to trouble it, the guarde is to be placed with an ordinarie fire ſome foure ſcore paces more or leſſe from the colors, and in ſome places I haue my ſelfe ſerued, where they were fayne to pitche tentes to defend the ſoldiors from terrible coldes and ſtormes, and in other, from the exceſſiue reflection and heate of the ſunne.

Quarter for the Princes Tentes and battaile.

In the middeſt of the quarters and front of the companies, *Y. H.* is to piche your owne tentes & quarter of your Cordeguarde, which the battaile ſhall folowe, when ſo euer the bodies of the ſquadrons ſhall be aſſigned for it, hauing in the quarter betwene the paſſages & pauilions, ſpacious ſtreates for the men to repayre to the markett place, without trouble: and at *Y. H.* Tentes, there ought to bee a toile of canuas round about, in maner of a wall breſt high, and a little diche caſt at the foote thereof, which may ſerue to keepe common paſſage from neare *Y. H.* Tentes, holding the reſpect that is dewe without apparance of fortification, for that otherwiſe that would ſhewe either feare of the

the enimie, or diſtruſt of your owne armie.

On the one ſide *Y.H.* is to lodge the Campe-maiſter generall, and the officers which follow him, *Quarter*-maiſter, as much to ſay, as the Maiſter which is to aſſigne out the quarters, (who ought to be a man ſkilfull) Captaine of the guydes of ſpialls, and likewiſe other which they call chieftaines of the watche, whiche ſignifieth the headdes or principalls of the guardes, and Centinels of the Campe, who ſerue to viſit them by day and night, and the whole circuite of the lodging, to report the ſtate thereof to the Campe-maiſter generall, for that it is vnpoſſible for the Quarter-maiſter to take ſo great toyle, to whoſe office the care thereof apperteyneth, and he to make relation to the Maiſter-generall, as alſo to the great Prouoſt or Captaine of the fielde, to reporte vnto him what is done in the market of victualls or vivanders. And although it doeth concerne, the Seriantes, Alferes, Captaines & Seriant Maior, as alſo ſometime the Campe-maiſter to ouerlooke at ſundrie houres of the night, the guardes and centinells in the parte where the colores ſtande: yet they are not to paſſe ſo farre as the Tierces or Regiments of different nations: but to appoint when the armies are great, the headds of the guardes and Centinels for that purpoſe, to make a rounde about the circuite of the whole campe, preſuppoſing that they are able to vnderſtande the languages of the nations which are therein, and diligentlie to looke that guarde be kept. Likewiſe are the Seriant Maiors and officers to ſhew the place, which the Campe-maiſter general hath aſſigned for the Corps de guardes in the night, not being him ſelfe in place to doe it, whiche is ſometimes by putting vpp a marke, as ſticking into the ground ſome ſtake. On that part where the Campe-maiſter generall is lodged, the quarter of the vauntguarde and Captaine is euer wont to folow.

Quarter for the Campmaiſter generall and vangarde.

Not farre from this quarter, in place moſt conuenient,

Quarter for the artillery

is the generall of the Artillerie to be placed, with the powder, ſhott, and other munitions, and the furniture apperteyning, the Captaines and officers of his carge, and the Coroncl & Captaines of the gaſtadors or pioners, which are to be lodged in the ſame quarter.

Market of victualls,

On the other ſide of *Y.H.* Tentes, a ſpace is to be left for the markett of victualls, vivanders, and marchandiſe, lodging the gran-Provoſte in the ende therof, with the horſe and officers that folow him, whoſe tentes is to ſerue for a priſon: & here ought a place to be rayſed on high, where iuſtice & puniſhment of offendors is to be executed, preventing by the ſtanding thereof ſo neare *Y.H.* Tentes, and with the aſſiſtance of the Provoſt, that no diſorder be cõmitted in the buyings and ſellings, nor force offred to the Vivanders, which is a matter of verie great moment for the conſeruation of a campe, and to be warie of the concourſe of people, which repaire thither from all quarters.

Quarter for the great Prouoſt.

Quarter for the Rereguarde.

Next vnto the gran Provoſt his tentes, is the Captaine of the rereguarde to be lodged, if any men bee appointed for it. I haue ſet downe vnto *Y.H.* this diſpoſing of quarters, in caſe that the men be diuided into vanguarde, battaile, and reregard, and with headdes appointed of purpoſe to march and combatt with them, becauſe in reaſon of warre the vantgarde ought to be moſt ſkilfull and exerciſed, and conſequentlie is of force to bee the right horne in ſtand, or fight. And if they haue not bene appointed, & that there be different nations in the armie, it is to be conſidered, that the quarter next vnto *Y.H.* Tentes, is to be giuen to thoſe whom *Y.H.* hath commanded to take charge of your perſon, and the reſt to be diſperſed, conſidering that if there be ſo manie colors of one nation, as that another alone will not by much be able to equall thẽ in number, It ſhalbe good to diſpoſe the quarters in ſuch ſorte, as the colores of two nations ioyned togither, may come to

equal

equal that which was ſuperior to euerie one by it ſelfe: whereby they ſhall ſtand more vnited, & keepe the ſtronger from doeing any force to them, which of them ſelues are not able to reſiſt: and ſometime not hauing a ſufficient number of colors of one nation, & being willing to mingle them with another to forme a bodie of a ſquadrõ, they vſe to lodge them ioyntlie in one quarter, whereby they may come to knowe the ſoldiors, and by a brotherhood the ſooner to ioyne to fight.

Likewiſe it is very conuenient to lodge in ſeuerall quarters not only the light horſe-men at armes, and * ſwart rutters, but the Regiments and Tierces diſtinctlie, auoyding the coufuſion which groweth when they ſtande mingled togither.

* Herreruelos.

The quarters of *Y. H.* being generallie appointed of cauallerie, infanterie, & artellerie which the Quarter-maiſter is to diſpoſe of, the Camp-maiſter generall is to viewe the circuite of the lodging, togither with the generall of the artillerie, to giue order for ſuch fortificatiõ as is neceſſarie, which many times is done, by putting wagons round about the quarters within the diches which are made, by raiſing trenches, where the ſcituation doeth not yeeld eaſines of breach, high bankes, hollow or deep wayes which may ſerue for defence: a matter which concerneth the generall of the artillerie, with the gaſtadors, which in reaſon ſhould giue order to fortifie his quarter with a good dich, leauing cõuenient places to iſſue out the wagons, and this to be done after all the munitions and furniture of artillery is gathered togither, ouer which an ordinarie guard is to be ſet: prouided that the centinells be Pikes, which are to ſtand about the wagons of pouder, & not harquebuſiers: for the daunger which mought happen by the fire of the maches to the pouder: which guarde may not permit any perſon once to come within the quarter, except he be very

Fortificatiõ of the lodging.

well knowne, nor that any come neare the carts of munition, eſpeciallie of pouder, auoyding the miſchief which mought chance by the enimies ſending ſome men in diſguiſed habits, not only to viewe, but to fire the pouder as ſome times it hath fallen out.

The fortification of the camp, ought to be eſpecially in the entries therof, well prouided, & in ſuch manner as the men may ſalie ſpeedlie in rankes, if occaſion require it, and the way by which they fett their water to be very broade, if their be none within the lodging, aſſigning ſome to kepe the waters which they are to drinke from being troubled, a particular which is to be accompted of, as in the cleanlines and neatnes of a campe, eſpecially if they bee to tarrie dayes in one lodging, and that the ſcituatiō be not durtie, by the fall of rayne-water, and to appoint a conuenient place in euery quarter for the vivanders which follow it.

Whom the gardes of day & night concerneth.

The Serieants Maior, Commiſſaries of the light horſe, and the reſt of the Officers whom it concerneth to knowe the number of men, whiche are to keepe watch euerie one within his charge, ought to come to the Camp maiſter generall, to take order for the colors & ſtandars which are to enterguard that might, and for the places wher they are to ſet their Corps-de-guarde being men at armes, ſwart ruyters, and companies of pykes for the night, and light horſe and harquebuſiers by daye, to whom apperteyneth the ſcowts, when it is not ſo daungerous to be enforced to reenforce them with pykes, men at armes & ſwart rutters. And for the guards of like lodginges, hauing no ſuſpition of the enimie, *Y. H.* muſt commaunde that your men trauaile no more then is fit, to exerciſe them in guardes, continuing in the cuſtome therof: cōſidering that with ouertyring the men, horſes and the reſt of the members which an armie is cōpounded of, there is no one bodie ſo tender as that is, being formed of ſuch a faſhion, as a corrupt ayre will

An armie a moſt tender bodie.

will ſoone throwe it downe, foure dayes hunger, or foule weather, diſſoluinge it, without the enimie euer vſinge ſworde, which they feare moſt, which haue not had experience of the reſt. And likewiſe heed is to be taken, that the armies and men of warr be not wearied in their guards and marche, more then neceſſitie requireth, to preſerue them, and to hold them in exerciſe. This diuiſion of the guards in the forme ſet down will ſerue for the liſts which ſhalbe made of the colors, and ſtandarts of the armie, deuiding thē into foure partes, whereof one is euerie night to keepe the guarde, & ſo three ſtill to reſt, which is no great trauail, & exerciſe ſufficiēt to accuſtome them to the field.

The guardes are to be ſet at twielight, withdrawing thoſe which ſtood all daye, to the end no place bee giuen to the enimie to view the ſtandes of the guardes and centinells, which ordinarilie in theſe fortified lodgings, requireth the diſtance of a Corp-de-guard to bee thirtie paces from the trenches, the centinells being ſo ſet as the one may ſee the other, not being neceſſarie, except the enimie be at hand to double thē. The corp-de-gards of the Cauallerie muſt be without the trenches and fortification of the camp, and the centinells diſpoſed alongeſt the wayes, and placed in ſuch manner as none ſhalbe able to paſſe to the campe without being perceyued, and as well to the centinels of horſe as foote the word is not to be giuen vntill they be ſet in their ſtands, whereby none may paſſe, enter or goe out of the Camp, without order from *T.H.* or the word giuen.

Houre of ſetting the guardes.

When the worde is to be giuen to the centinels.

I will not be tedious to handle the manner which the Seriants Maior and officers of the Cauallerie muſt hold in apointing ſuch ſtanders & colors as are to ſerue that night for the guard, which are to haue warning from the morning before, becauſe it is a matter which in particular teacheth thē, folowing the forme of a diſcipline which euery nation vſeth in changing the centinells, either with ſound

of

of drumme or without, and to make rounds and counter-rounds: nor likewise what care the Captains, Lieuetenants and Alpheres of cauallerie are to take in viewing, as soone as the standarts are lodged, the way which is from their quarter to the market place, that vpon any alarom by day or night, they may repaire readilie thither, euery souldior to the standard which is to guyde him.

Publishing of orders.

In this lodging *Y. H.* is to commaund that those orders which you shall haue set downe be published, which is to be done by the gran Prouost, Kinges at armes, Trompets, drummes, & * instruments, & that throughout the places most conuenient as the market place and victuallers, and distinctlie in all the quarters.

* *Atabales*, made of brasse like a round kettel, without a haile, with two hādles, the ancientest kinde of instrument whiche Spaine vseth, and is vsed in solemne feasts as we doe Hoboies.

Iointlie *Y. H.* is to commaunde your councell to debate whether it be fit to take a generall muster of the armie, or a particular in euery regimēt, standard or nation: a matter to be resolued of if it bee well considered, whether it be necessarie to make aparance and demonstration of the armie, or to couer the number of your men, and power though it be verie great.

Consideration of the number of squadrons which are to be formed.

They are likewise to consulte in what forme the battayle is to be set, guyding themselues in this by the lystes of the musters of cauallerie and fanterie, to forme the squadrons which are to serue for the right horne or left, battaile or guarde of the artillerie: a matter in which you can not further particularise (when the case and occasions are not present) then in considering the qualitie of the cornets of cauallerie, and with what sorte of armes they fight, & in the fantarie the number of pykes and harquebusiers: accommodating to this the squadrons, which shalbe well to bee framed according to the scituation and disposition which the enimie shall shewe: which ought to be cōsidered whether it must be a square of people or groūd, of great front, or in lēgth, with much depth, or of other fashion: A thing which

which is to be ordered according to the ſtand & cuſtome which euerie nation vſeth in fight, more in one ſorte of ſquadron and battaile formed then in another, the Serieants being perfite in framing thē, which obſerue certaine meaſure to make them holde great fronte or depth,& that the depth be not more thē three partes the number of ſoldiors which the fronte of the ſquadron holdeth,and thoſe in the great fronte the thirde parte of the flanke: ſo as if three ſcore be in fronte,twentie ought to be in flanke: and if three ſcore in depth,at leaſt twentie in fronte, rules by which they ſhall ſtande proportioned, and garniſhe the flankes of the ſhott: and if they drawe one or two winges out of it,which is according as euery natiō is accuſtomed to fight,and the ſcituation permitteth, it is to be conſidered,that when you would haue a ſquadron to bee in all partes reenforced with equal proportion,you muſt forme a ſquare of men; if you will reenforce the front or rereguarde by putting more ſouldiors to fight,you muſt make a ſquare of ground,and to this ende they make the ſquadrons large in fronte and litle in flanke, coueting to haue moſt men fight in fronte,holding confidence in their dexteritie, and when there is made a great depth, it is to the ende that the ſame weight of the ſquadron mought effect a breaking in vpon the enimie, the light horſe fighting in troupes, men at armes and ſwart ruttrers in rankes, and the Gynettes, which albeit they keepe in rankes, yet ioyned with the foote vpon the charge in groſſe: the men and ſquadrons for a battayle, being to bee diſpoſed, with like correſpondencie, as the members in the bodie of a man proportion the armes which are at this day vſed in armies like vnto them, the feete and handes being the harquebuſiers on horſe, the legges and armes the light horſe, the thighes the men at armes, the ſquadrons of infanterie the breaſtes,the head,the Prince or generall,and the belly the

Correſpondencie betweene an armie and mans body.

bagage. And if you would ſet forth the body of a man to moſt ſhewe, the ground being well looked into where his feete ſtande, the members may be ſo diſpoſed as he ſhall ſeeme greater: By conſequent, if one man come to fight with an other, he will firſt ſet his right foote forward, ſtretching out his right arme, turning ſidelong his body to couer the reſt of his members, ſhewing leſſe marke to be hitt, but if he be diſpoſed to wraſtell with an other, he then ſeeketh to helpe him ſelfe with all his members equallie, being to graple with the enimie, and to ſerue his turne by them, vniting in that ſtanding his whole force, to labor at one inſtant: The like is to be done in ſetting an armie in battaile, and if it be for repreſentation to giue it forme according to the ſcituation, and to the ſquadrons, ſo as they may ſeeme greater, but if it be to attempt the enimie, then to doe it with harquebuzes on horſebacke, light horſſe, foote men, and ſome ſlight horſe, beginning the ſkirmiſh with diſcretion, that when they come with greater liuelines to ioyne, they doe not ſo haſtelie charge as to be faine to come to cloſe with the reſt of the ſquadrons, which if they be forced to doe, and to giue battayle, then to diſpoſe it ſo, as all may fight at once, & euery man graple with an other of the enimie, when the battayle ſerueth for it.

The circumſtances aboue written are to giue lawe vnto *Y.H.* for the forming of thoſe ſquadrons, of which the battaile is compounded, and hauing launces and argoletiers in the armie, it is a very good way to mingle them, to put in the left flanke of the lances, a Cornet of ſwart Rutters, which commeth to ſerue as a winge: the which is to ioyne a litle before the lances, that their companie may ſerue for ſome profit and purpoſe, and that the piſtoliers doe as much, giuing their voley, as they vſe to charge when they are in forme of a halfe moone.

Forme of fight in cõpanie of ſwart rutters.

It is helde as well for a good order of battaile, to drawe

to

to the right side of the squadrons, a troupe of pykes and lances, conteyning a fift parte of the squadron to set vpon the flanke of the enimie at the time of close: who if hee turne fronte to the troupe, leaueth the flanke to the squadron, and if he fronte with it, forceablie he must discouer his side to the troupe. A practise which hitherto I haue not knowen vsed in the fighte of the infanterie, and which my selfe haue done vpon a day of seruice in the cauallerie, disposing the squadrons of light horse which were vnder my charge in this manner, and found it by experience of much effect for that which these troupes performed, when not being fiue and twentie horse at the chocke with the enimies squadrons, it pleased God that we brake them, giuing the victorie to the King our Lord, Y.H. father. Iointlie we finde by experience in this occasion, of howe much more worth lances are in fight, then pistoleteres, and the maner with which they are to combat with swarte ruyters: The squadrons of lances may not exceede one hundred, or one hundred and twentie at the most, albeit they be to sett vppon a squadron of foure or fiue hundred argoleteres, and of this number to make manie, diuiding the lances, and to charge with furie, which is that which sooneſt putteth the swarte Rutters to flight, in that the pistolls be but of very small seruice mingled with them. So they vse to haue one or two squadrons volante, and that to vpholde a skirmishe in grosse, mainteyning it with purpose to allure the enimie to fight, and to preuent anie charge shall be made with multitude of horse, being superior to them in shott & cauallerie which accompanie them, able with a squadron volante to succour with such dexteritie as shall neuer neede to put in daunger the rest of the battaile.

Manner of fight vpon a day of battaile.

Forme of fightinge with swarte rutters.

Squadron volante.

When Y.H. holdeth the squadrons devided & plotted out by those of your councell, in one, two, or more formes

in which they may be ſett in battaile, ſtanding therewith prepared to compound it according to the demonſtration of the enimie, and ſcituation, with greater readines and facilitie, you muſt commaund them to aduiſe in what ſorte they will diuide the armie to march, & the maner in which the warre is to be made, whether according to the motiue of *Y. H.* and ende of the iourney it be to be done in reſting in a place, or encamping.

Of theſe and other things noted, *Y. H.* is to commaund that in way of conuerſation they treate of them, with ſome particular headdes of the armie, which bee perſonages of experience and diſcourſe, and charge them to doe the like with the olde ſoldiors, of whoſe iudgement and reaſoning they may hold ſome ſatisfaction, for that they know what they ſpeake: becauſe many times matters of importance come to be moued, on which councellours doe not putt their eyes, being clogged with buſineſſes, which doth not giue them leaue to thinke thoroughlie of matters, nor to be able thereby to direct them, not being poſſible for a man to conſider all things which is required for the guyding of one well, and that it greatly furthereth, though it be much conſidered of, to heare the opinions of manie, to reſolue of what is beſt: a point which bindeth Kinges to holde Councellors about them, affirming to thoſe which are moſt cõfident, that Princes in their particulars of warr, are to heare all, and reſolue with fewe.

That *Y. H.* may take reſolution in marching and lodging as may fall out, notice muſt generallie be had from the information of the naturall men of the Countrie, or thoſe which haue liued in it, or by deſcriptions of Cardes and Mappes, which is fitt Kinges ſhould haue, although it coſt them much money: and albeit vpon entring into the coũtrie, ſome defectes may be found in them, yet are they profitable for manie conſiderations. The light which is to be

taken

taken out of these things, is not of that sorte as that Y. H. should put so great confidence in them, as not to sende before men practised to view the lodging, wayes, and qualitie of the Countrie. And in case that for want of carying sufficient number with them, the enimie should charge them, without giuing them respit to discouer or view farre within the Coūtrie, yet they are to goe with carying such an eye, as to consider in the little or nothinge which they passe, whether there be anie place fit for to lodge in, or no.

Aduise for thosewhich goe to discouer the lodging.

In conquestes you must alwayes haue a care to get some towne, assuring therby your setting foote within the Prouince, and to be able to haue a secure place to draw togeather the sicke and hurt men, and others cumbers of munition, which can hardly bee done in the spaciousnes of a field, which consumeth multitudes of horse, and disturbe any succors which come to reenforce the armie.

To these considerations may be added the reputation which is gayned by taking of a towne, weakening thereby the enimie and his trayne, who standeth as much endamaged as the contrarie parte profited, all which requireth that in endeuoring a cōqueſt, you first seeke out, & be able to seate your selfe in some place which may bee of profit, whē there is no capitall towne within the Prouince, vpon the giuing vp of which you may with reason promise the rendring of the rest, or ells to combat with the enimies armie: particularities which ought to be looked into with the first, leauing the rest to be regarded after: when there are few mē, the armie is in their march to be deuided into two parts, to wit, the vantguarde and rereguard, and ordinarilie if there bee a number of squadrons into three, forming a battayle with parte, which may hold equall proportion with the vantguarde and rereguarde, whereby it cōmeth to bee a meane without participating of the two extreames, and a proportioned bodie thorough the equa-

Forme of diuiding an armie for their march

litie which euery one caryeth by himſelf to be ioyned togeather. In which *T.H.* is to marke, that to deuide an armie into theſe partes, ought to be ment only of the infanterie, which in deed is the verie ſtrength of the fielde, in reſpect that the force ſtandeth more vnited in the footemen then in the horſe, becauſe that they moue by reaſon, and horſes by the ſpurrs, and helde backe by the bridle, and both the one and the other can not bee alike in all, as in men which haue diſcretion.

The infanterie the ſtrength of an armie.

And albeit that in olde time the cauallerie was of more eſtimation for their furie and redines then the infanterie, experience cõmeth to diſcouer the contrarie, & to put the ground of a warr in the ſquadrons of fanterie, which ſerue with pykes, to which the firſt place is to be yeelded in armes as to the launce in horſemen: albeit ſome ſoldiors of late yeares would preferr piſtoliers, which grew thorough the impoſſibilitie of carying launces which they ſawe in thoſe againſt whom they were enforced to mainteyne warre, To couer this relying vpon the ſharpenes of their witts, they perſwaded with apparant reaſons that piſtolls were of moſt aduantage for the ſouldiors, who were eaſilie caried away with the beleefe therof, in that they found the launce a weapon of much trouble and charge, and the piſtoll not ſo much. Among other their reaſons, that of greateſt force is, that piſtolls may doe greater hurte, and further of then launces, vpon a firſt charge carying one in the right hande, and a ſword drawne with the hilte faſtened to the thumbe in the lefte, which holdeth the rayne, readie to vſe vpon the diſcharge of the piſtoll, being put in the caſe, except it be fit to pull out the other, whiche is in that forme, which thoſe of this opiniõ would haue the cauallerie to fight in, and to be armed at the proofe: wherby they doe affirme, that they come more ſecurelie to mingle with the enimie, & to annoye him more, carying ſwordes

The pike in the infanterie, & laũce in the cauallerie of greateſteſtimation.

in

in their handes: for theſe reaſons they may be ſatisfied, that in the firſt charge, lances are mingled with harquebuſiers on horſſe, which annoyeth further off then the piſtoll, and in comming to the ſhocke, the launce hurteth with a more certeintie then it folowing after wardes the furie of the horſe which runneth thē ouer and ouer, & ſeldome times doe they fayle two encounters with the launce, although it be brooke in the firſt, and many times thriſe, not beeing the worſt that which is left of the great ende of the ſtaffe, or truncheon, ſince with an encounter therewith a man may be vnhorſte and throwen downe, in ſuch ſorte as it may well abyde two encounters, if not three. Theſe encounters being made, the piſtoll ſtill remayneth with the light horſe, which moſt carrie at the ſaddle pummell, in ſteede of a mace or fawchion which they were wonte to hange thereat, and the tucke or ſworde at the girdle, which is no leſſe readie then if it were in the rayne hande, where it muſt needes be a trouble for him which gouuerneth the horſſe. Beſides a piſtoll can not be ſhott off face to face without hurting a mans owne horſe, & to diſcharge it behinde, is to hit by chaunce, which if you will be ſure to do, you muſt leuel on your right ſide or lefte: whereby vndoubtedly you giue vpon the flanke of the enimie, which is no ſmall aduantage. I ſignifie this opinion vnto *Y. H.* for that by no maner of meanes you muſt permitt your horſe to leaue lances, ſince, if no other reaſon were to perſwade it, the verie cuſtome whiche all nations haue vſed manie ages to make their horſemen cary them, and continued it euer ſince the invētion of powder hath bin found, and made good proofe of their violence, is a ſufficient demonſtration, that it is the beſt armes of horſemen, for this cauſe the ſquadrons of Cauallerie, are diuided in ſuch maner as a proportion be kept therein, the men at armes being the ſtrength, and the ſquadrons in ſuch ſorte as they

may

may be able to renforce with them the vantgarde, or anie other parte of the armie, and to diuide them likewiſe into three partes, to renforce euery part by it ſelfe, with the cauallerie and infanterie.

The handling of conqueſtes, leadeth me to ſignifie vnto *Y.H.* before I proceed to the marching with the armie, howe earneſtlie you are to wiſhe, the vndertaking thereof vpon the infidelis, ſince finding your ſelfe buſied with other warres for the conſeruation of your kingdomes, you ought euery day inſtantlie to beſeeche our Lorde to ryd you out of the trouble of them, whereby you may employe the greatnes of thoſe forces, which it hath pleaſed him to giue vnto you, with ſo many Crownes, againſt the enimies of our holy catholike faith, ſettinge at libertie the multitude of ſlaues, which the infidells holde in harde oppreſſion and captiuitie: An enterpriſe worthie of *Y.H.* and of the Kinges of Spaine to buſie them ſelues in, as alwayes your aunceſtors haue done, encreaſing (by ſeruing our Lord in this) great proffites to their Crownes: A matter which moueth me ioinrlie to handle the manner which I am acquainted with, howe they are to lodge and martch in conqueſtes vpon the infidells. The Countrie being vnpeopled, in reſpect of the drieneſſe thereof, and wante of riuers, will aſke that *Y.H.* bring ſtore of Cauallerie, eſpecially if the enimies force of his warrfare conſiſt therein, as the Kings of Africa, and other partes, the better to aſſure the lodgings, and to fetch water, and to bee able to couer the bagage, munitions, droues, or cariadge of victualles, which neceſſarilie are to bee caried: and when this may not be poſſible, and that you are forced to execute the enterpriſe, it will be fit to make litle iourneys, occupyinge the lodging in no further diſtance, then that it may finde water, the ſquadrons well formed, to martche by litle and litle, in ſuch ſorte as they may be at hande one of another:

In what maner they ought to marche, which vndertake conqueſts vpon the infidels, or in countrie vnpeopled.

the

the which will cheriſhe the ſmall number of Cauallerie, which is caried, aſſiſted with the winges of the harquebuſes & muſkettes, the bodie of the Armie couering the munitions & baggag, which ought to go cloſe togither within it: and in caſe that the troupes of the enimies cauallerie, ſet vpon thē, with the heate of his harquebuſiers on horſebacke, they may fray them away with fielde pieces and inſtrumentes, whereof foure may be caried in a wagon, and muſkett ſhott, which wilbe the moſt certen, being able to diſcharge their voleis more ſpeedilie, and with more nimblenes then the artillerie, a muſkett reaching much further off then a harquebus on horſebacke, although the petronells be neuer ſo longe which they cary, comming to looſe them ſelues hereby, without their ſhott ſeruing to anie effecte.

Iointlie it is to be noted, warring in Barbarie, that the *Africanes*, *Alarabes*, and *Barbarians* keepe no order in their fight: onelie running in troupes huddle togither for the execution thereof, but we keepe order in defending the enimies on ſett, and diſorder our ſelues at the cloſe: the which requireth, that no voley of ſhott bee beſtowed on them, vntill you ſee them ioyned togither, and to entertayne them in ſkirmiſhes with ſhot of the artillerie, and ſome muſkett, for they are almoſt all loſt, in reſpect that theſe nations doe very much ſcatter them ſelues in ſkirmiſhe, and not to charge them without a body of formed ſquadrons. By marching in this forme, you ſhal haue time to fortifie the lodging by day, ſtanding with greater ſecuritie in the nightes, whereby the enimies Cauallerie can hardlie breake in vpon you, and be able to enlarge your ſelfe much, to repoſe with eaſe, for that it is not poſſible being alwayes on horſebacke, to be maiſter of the fielde. This will giue time to put in order at a good houre, the armie and baggage to martche without any impediment

Forme in which the Alarabos & Africanes fight.

of the enimie, ſtanding within viewe in battaile, being of neceſſitie, except he holde ſome walled Townes neare hande enforced to come from farre of.

In Barbarie you muſt be forced to lodge in ſuch ſcituation as the nature of the Coũtrie affordeth, neare vnto the water, without being able to chuſe anie other more ſtrõg: an inconvenience which ſometimes our forefathers preuẽted, carying emptie ſackes, which they filled with ſande to fortifie the lodgings withall. And becauſe this may fall out in ſuch iourneys as the King our Lord may make into thoſe partes and prouinces, I preſented, in the yeare One thouſand fiue hundred eightie & foure, when I returned frõ my embaſſage *in England, a forme of engine of tymber, and certayne vices, with which they mought arme in verie ſhort ſpace, a caualier of the height of thirtie geometricall feete, & more, & broade of three ſcore foote ſquare, vpon which might ſtande ſtore of muſkett ſhott, wherewith to defende the lodging, placing foure of theſe caualeres at the corners thereof: the which will come to ſerue as traueſſes to keepe the entrie thereof, and platformes for the fielde, being framed of little pieces of timber, whiche may wel be caried vpon a beaſt, and be not of much cumber and trouble in arming and diſarming them, which is that which maketh engines and inſtruments to be of greateſt profit. Of theſe tymbers there might be likewiſe made an other engine, of fiftie foote high or more, which a man mought eaſilie goe vp and down by, diſcouering the field as farre as the height of the place will giue leaue, ſeruing as a watch towre to giue the alarom, in caſe anie men come neare, perceyuing them from farre off.

Engines to fortifie lodgings with.

* or rather for your practiſes baniſhed.

Iointlie I preſented to his Maieſtie, for the effecte of the ſame iourneys, a ſorte of pieces of artillerie of metal which mought coſt ſome fortie crownes, & weigh thirtie poũds, ſhooting a bullett of one pounde with that furie, that it would

Newe maner of pieces of artillerie.

would peierce through a bricke wall of two foote geometricall thicke, notwithſtanding the ſmall weight of the bodie of the piece, and in reſpect thereof the greatnes of the diameter of the bullet, and not being heated verie ſoone, which is as well of momēt, being able to put them aborde ſhipps although they be ſmall, and ſhooting like ſlynges for their litle weight, which are qualities of very good ſeruice.

Likewiſe I preſented to his Maieſtie, a forme of bridges of litle pieces of tymber, to paſſe ouer riuers withal, which are verie eaſilie made vp, being ſtronge, & euerie piece by it ſelfe of that bigneſſe, that it might bee caried vppon any beaſt: and the truncheons of the model being not longer then halfe a foote geometricall of the bignes of ones little finger, and three broad, the bridge being fiue geometrical feete in depth, a man may verie ſecurily paſſe ouer it for the ſtrength thereof: whereby you may imagine what might be done by increaſing the proportion of the Truncheons.

Bridges to paſſe ouer riuers

When you finde a Countrie craggie & mountainous the cauallerie wilbe of ſmall auayle, & the infanterie more profitable, eſpeciallie if there be good Harquebuſieres among thē, which ſerue beſt to fight in a fielde of the foreſaide conditions, finding in moſt partes a defence, to be able to diſcharge with ſecuritie.

The moſt dayes that Y. H. ſhall ſtande in this firſte lodging, you are to goe out and walke, that the people may of ordinarie ſee you, encreaſing loue in vaſſalls, when they ſhall many times beholde the face of their King: and in ſoldiors a liuelines, gallantnes and affection, with the ſight of their Captaine, whoſe perſon and partes euery one admireth according to the caractes of his vnderſtāding, and the moſt his pompe and trayne: from whēce it riſeth, that by ſeeing Kinges with that maieſtie and greatnes whiche

Fit that the Prince ſhew him ſelfe many times to the ſouldiors.

they ſhewe them ſelues withall in publike, & compoſition then of their actions, euery vaſſall accompteth of him ſelf, moued thereto in that God hath giuen him a king ſo powerfull, promiſing to him ſelf to gouerne & guyde his verie ſecret actions with like diſcretion and conſideration as his publique. This maketh all men in cõmon to be able to ſee things, but very fewe to haue vnderſtanding to vnripp the reaſon of them: the which cauſeth outward demonſtrations to be of greateſt effect when magnificence, and garbe giueth helpe vnto them.

Much experience in matter of ſcituations, is gayned by ſeeing of the guardes enter.

Y.H. is to goe abroad, a litle before the guardes be ſet, to viewe the lodging, & ſee them enter in, an houre in which *Y.H.* may gayne much experience in the knowledge of the ſcituations, by the reaſons which the Campe-maiſter generall, and headdes of experience ſhall deliuer, which accompanie *Your Honour* in placing the Corps de guarde, and the Centinelles more in one parte then in an other, and what is neceſſarie to bee marked in the chuſinge of them.

And if *Your Honor* will be a famous Captaine, a qualitie of ſo great eſtimation for any the moſt powerfull Monarche, you muſt knowe howe to emcampe well, whence enſueth to bee able to combatt in ſeaſon, the head corner ſtone of a Generall for that to fight alone there is none ſo baſe as doeth it not. Howe to aduantage your ſelfe in encamping, *Your Ho.* ſhall learne much by being ſometimes preſent at the chuſing out of the lodgings, in hearing vpon ſuch occaſion as ſhall fall out before your owne eyes, the opinions of the Campemaiſter generall, and the reſt of the Counceloürs, vpon the diſpoſing of them, what parte wil ſerue beſt for the Cauallerie and fanterie, and the difficulties which other offer in being fitt to change them or no, and to occupie an other ſcituation.

A mat-

A matter of which *Y. H.* albeit you bee not preſent at the inſtant in the fielde with an armie, may be able to take a generall notice, by commaunding ſuch as accompanie you in hawkeninges and huntings, to make reporte vnto you (if they be ſouldiours) of the qualitie of the countrie, where it may ſerue your beſt turne to aſſure the infanterie, as alſo for the cauallerie to fight, where the artillerie may be ſcituated, and the markett place appointed, diſcourſing in this manner of the reſt of the particularities, conſidering that in your recreation of hawking and hunting it be done, to the ende to take knowledge of the fielde, ſcituation of the ſtandes, and to preſerue in good eſtate the health of the armie, that for anie other ende then theſe two, it is not fitt that Kings ſhould conſume their time in a matter, whence there is no more honor to begotten, then that he which guydeth him ſelfe with reaſon, ſhal haue deceyued or hurte a poore beaſt which is voyde thereof. And likewiſe it is conuenient that where Kings take their recreation, it be done in ſuch things as ſome profit may ariſe therby, for to exerciſe the miniſterie, in which God hath placed them, reducing all their actions to this ende.

The ende Which is to be helde in hawking & hunting.

From this firſte lodging *Your Honor* is not to departe, before you haue ioyned togither all your men, artillerie, munitions, and victualls, being neceſſarie for the iorney: and if it be a conqueſt, to commaunde that forces bee prepared of newe, for to ſuccour the armie, ſince that obteyning good ſucceſſe, you may ſend them away in caſe it be not neceſſarie to reenforce it, leaſt otherwiſe you cõſume occaſions and time, which is a great enimie to armies, and which finiſheth all matters in the world: preuenting hereby, if diſgrace ſucceede that you ſtande prepared, ſo as no occaſion be giuen to other Princes, to inuade *Y. H.* eſtates, by ſeeing your forces putt to route, and diſarmed, whileſt that the enimie remayneth gallante, and victorious,

which cauſeth reputation to be loſt, and the liuelines and courage of the ſoldiors to abate, cooling thereby the faith and affection of the reſt of friendes & confederates, wherby moſt times thorough the ſpoile made in warre, rentes come to be diminiſhed, thinges which breede ill ſucceſſe, and loſſe of reputation.

Order in diſlodging.

The day being ſet downe in which *Y. H.* purpoſeth to diſlodge, you muſt commaunde that warning be giuen ouernight to departe: wherby all may prepare them ſelues except it be neceſſarie to watch the night, and couer your departure: giuing order then by mouth, muſt bee done without the infanteries ſtricking vp of any drumme, and the Cauallerie ſounding their Trumpetts, with a ſuddeine *Y. H.* muſt commaunde to ſounde a bote ſela, when your men are geathered togither at the morning watch, & then to ſounde *A Cauallo*: at which time there ought to be preſent in the market place the cãpe maiſter generall, Quarter maiſter, Captaines of guides, & officers of their traine. In olde time, the Cãpe maiſter generall, when the armie marched, was wonte to carie an enſigne, differing in forme frõ the Princes, & the Quarter maiſter a ſquare bãner, to make ſo manie perſons the more eaſilie finde him out as are to ſeeke him, and to the Quarter maiſters banner, the Princes harbengers repayre, perſonages, and Caualiroes of his Court, and thoſe of the reſt of the Regimentes, and Companies of horſe, which they call Furriers. The like is done nowe, although without banner, & when there is no ſuſpition of the enimie, there is a troupe of ſoldiors giuen to the Quarter maiſter, to keepe the furriers from runninge abroade to commit diſorder.

The Campe maiſter generall hath for many yeares ſince caried no guidon, and in ſome armies Princes haue alowed him a companie of horſe, to the ende he ſhould haue men ſtil at hande to accompanie him, without loſing time

in ſending for the Cauallerie from their quarters, and to haue the infanterie at a moment when he ſhould require them.

As ſoone as the greater parte of the armie is come togither within the market place, the campe maiſter is to giue order for the playning of the trenches, and fortification of the lodging, whereby the men may ſalie out in ſquadron with greater commoditie and readines: and euen ſo doe armies vſe to plane the trenches when they goe to combat with the enimie, giuing to vnderſtand by like demonſtration, howe they contemne the ſtrength of their defences, in regard of the valor of their armies. The fortification being explayned, the Campemaiſter cauſeth the vangarde to ſtande from the trenches ſuch a diſtance as he thinketh fit, making way therby for the battaile & reregarde to march, and for to ſet in order the cariage of the artillerie, munitions and bagage, a companie or cõpanies of the vangarde ſalying before, to whom they giue guides of the fielde, diſmiſſing the curriers which ſerue to diſcouer, & as a guarde vntill they marche.

In this time the Generall of the artillerie ſhould goe to place it in order, and the cariage of his traine, according to the breadth of the way, helping him ſelfe with the gaſtadors, if it ſhould be neceſſarie to make planeſſe: and the grand Prouoſt is to order likewiſe the waggons of the victualls and baggage, who is to carie a little banner for his better guiding, and then the Captaines and *Corporalls of the Regiments of the fielde, Terces, and cauallerie, are to holde their baggage withdrawne by them ſelues, to ſalie forth of the lodging. All the waggons of the trayne or ſuite of the artillerie ought to bee the firſte, the vaſtadors marching with them, without any other being mingled among thoſe of the munition which ordinarilie goe in this forme, that is to carrie the firſt carte laden with ſpades and mat-

In what place the artillerie is to marche.

**Banachola* be Corporalls of the fielde.

mattockes, the which *pyoners followe, ſeruing to marke out the tracks of the way which they are to paſſe, and next the light pieces, and after them the greater, in the blocke cariages, being more eaſilie able to be carried ſo, then in proper carriages, in which they are enforced to marche withall when there is likelihoode of combatt time beeing gayned thereby, which would be loſt in the remouing of them from the blocke to their wheele cariages. The pieces of artillerie are followed by the Carpenters and ſmithes cartes, and then by thoſe of the pouder and leade, & after with the match: ſuch cartes comming after theſe, as carrie Pikes and Lances: and after, thoſe which carrie ſhott, at whoſe heeles marche the waggons of the Generall and officers of the artillerie, and after them all the reſt of the munitions appertayning to the trayne of the artillerie: and laſt of all the waggons of victualls and hoſpitall: and by & by thoſe of *Y.H.* with which beginneth the baguage carying before *Y.H.* waggons the baners of the grand Prouoſt whom the reſt are to followe. And when it is neceſſarie to advance anie pieces, for being in ſuſpicion, or doubting a fight, they carrie with them ſuch waggons of ſhot & pouder as is neceſſarie to ſerue their turne with.

*what with falſe printing & vnuſuall words ſom trauail is offered to the tranſlat. here he doth vſe the word *A faſte* twiſe in two ſundrie ſignifications, in whiche I muſt cõfeſſe myne owne ignorãce, as alſo of as many as I could confer with among the Spaniards themſelues: but ſubmitting my ſelf I take the ſence to bee truely obſerued.

The artillerie and baggage being ſet in order, and the vangarde, battaile, and reregarde pointed out (which *Y.H.* is to giue warning for ouer night) the Sergeant Maiors & Commiſſaries generall of the Cauallerie, hauing taken order for ſuch place as the men are to holde which are vnder their charge, diuiding therin ſuch as are to goe in vangarde, or rereguarde by their liſts, becauſe none ſhould be agreeued, nor one trauaill more then another, the Campemaiſter generall muſt marche with the vangarde, ſending corriers before: which are euer to keepe within ſight of the vanguarde, gayning the higheſt places to diſcouer, & ſuch as are likelie for any ambuſhes, aduertiſing continuallie

allie what they viewe, being likewise the custome to carie in the vangarde some pieces of artillerie, which must goe renforced with more or lesse cauallerie or infanterie, according to the qualitie of the Countrie, narownes of the wayes, largenes of the fielde, or suspect which may be had of the enimie on the vanguarde, rereguarde, or vpon the flanke: A consideration which causeth the orders to be so diuers which are giuen for marching, and of those I will write to *Y. H.* in common, what I vnderstand is to bee noted in generall, for that it is not possible for a souldiour to be able to touche all particularities, although he should write great volumes.

At this time *Y. H.* must be alreadie on horsebacke, who are to marche with your guidon and 'pensill, which is the standarde, whether all the grandes, Lordes & Caualleries, which serue *Y. H.* in the battaile, are to repaire, being their stande in the armies of Princes and generalls, in that it is the place whether from all partes they are to resorte. And albeit this be the fashion of the warre, yet I haue bene my selfe in campe where the Generall hath bene resolued to change it, and to marche in the vangarde with the vastadors (which was a strange place to them) which he did in being enforced to goe ioyned to the enimie, to starue him vp, and keepe him from possessing any place: And in case the enimie would seeke him out for to fight, thorough his so neare neighbourhood, yet was it not possible for him, although he defended him with an armie inferior in number, besides saving much paines and trauaile thereby: an occasion that he would loose no time by remayning in the middest of the armie, from whence he was to parte vpō any newes of the enimies seeking of him out, to make choise of some conuenient place for to fight: the which he remedied by being in the vangarde, and helde by this, and the first intelligēce of the enimies approch, the fielde well

*Besides the standart I take that he meaneth such a pensil as the Deputies of Yrland whē they are in the field vse to haue caried by a Page with their armes painted thereon,

The Generals place vpon a daye of battaile.

vewed, and ſcituation where to fight, which he inſtantlie commaunded to be fortified, & ſo his armie had no more to doe, then as they came to the ſtande, to ſett them ſelues in battaile, being by this meanes ſuperior in ſcituation, alwayes to fight with aduantage.

Forme to march in an opē coūtrie.

If the fielde be large to be able to goe from one lodging to an other in battaile, & that the enimie be on ſuch parte as you can not be able to preſent it vnto him for that day, it ſhalbe greater cōmoditie for euerie ſquadron to march by them ſelues, being able to ioyne togither with eaſe, and the artillerie and baggage vppon the flanke of the armie, where leaſt feare may be of the enimie, the cariage couering the ſquadrons which are to goe in eight or ten rankes in fronte, that they may be with the leaſt, and march with leſſe trouble, prouided that the artillerie goe on the ſide of the ſquadrons, and ſome fielde pieces before, for that in caſe it ſhould be neceſſarie to better them, it mought bee done without annoyance of the reſt of the cariages, a matter which is fit to be preuented by the generall thereof.

Such leader as ſhalbe in the vanguarde, muſt leaue behinde all, a companie of lances, or harquebuſiers on horſe, with an experimented Captaine, who is to drawe out curriers, which are to marche farre from his companie, or rereguarde, but not ſo farre as to looſe ſight thereof, and this to be done in caſe the countrie be plaine: and if hillie, then are the curriers to get vp to the higheſt places, and mountaines, to the end the enimie occupie them not: and from thence to diſcouer the order of the marche, retyring them ſelues in this ſorte from mountayne to moūtayne. In caſe that the enimies folowe the armie with a greater troupe of men, then the companie of curriers and vanguarde, and that they be enforced to retire them ſelues more then the ſcituation where they marche requireth, or is fit for to diſcouer, thē the Leader of the rereguarde ſhall enforce them

to

to maintaine their ſtandes, giuing order that they charge not with greater furie then is neceſſarie, to conſerue them without loſſe of the marche, nor to ſuffer the watchworde or Alarom to paſſe, except there be occaſion for it, giuing euerie moment intelligence vnto *Y.H.* howe things paſſe. And if the enimies ſtraine vpon the curriers with ſuch gallantnes and force, as that they muſt be conſtrayned to retire as farre home as the rereguarde, then is he to ſuſtayne them by turning face, with making a halte, of which hee muſt aduertiſe *Y.H.* to the ende you may renforce or ſuccour them as neceſſitie ſhall require: ſince it may bee ſo great as putting them ſelues in battayle, they may come to hande-ſtroakes, a matter which they are to forbeare, except they be forced therevnto, attending to followe the Campe, which ought to be their ende.

When armies marche thorough an open countrie, the enimie (being a Captaine of experience) is wont to ſende a troupe of looſe cauallery to marke the order which they carrie, viewing the nūber of the men by the body of their ſquadrons. To attaine to this, as ſoone as they diſcouer the curriers in vanguarde or rereguarde, they charge thē with reſolution, who muſt be enforced being ſo much inferior to retyre them ſelues, and the enimies horſe thereby approch neare the armie to take the fuller viewe thereof. On this occaſion if *Y.H.* carrie a purpoſe to occupie forceablie any lodging, or paſſage which may be of much importance, and not to looſe time in marching, you muſt entertayne them, by putting ſquadrons of cauallerie in fronte, which may ſkirmiſh coldlie with them: whereby the armie ſhalbe able to marche without annoyance, *Y. H.* not holding any particular purpoſe, & being willing to breake vpon the horſe, which after the manner of warre carie no more ſuccours behinde them, then are diſcouered being looſe men, muſt commaund the Cauallerie, which ſhall

ſtande neareſt hande vnto them to cloſe reſolutelie, mingling them ſelues among them: a matter which you are to giue in charge to the captaine of thoſe whom they terme *Deſpepitados*, becauſe by this meanes they ſhalbe enforced to entertayne them, giuing time to charge vpō them with the reſt of the ſquadrons, which ſhall come to better their partie, and the enimies horſe hauing none to retire themſelues too, when they ſhall haue done: a matter which the cauallerie doth at pleaſure through their much dexteritie, though very litle time be giuen vnto them.

*Horſemen about the Prince, ſo called.

To cloſe vp the firſt horſe, can not be done without danger, a miſchiefe which muſt be recōpenſed with what the enimies vndoubtedlie may receiue, by entertayning time to mingle with them alwayes when it may be done with readines and determinatiō, which is that which *Y.H.* muſt order vpon like occaſions.

Likewiſe at other times they ſende ſome horſe to diſcouer, who for not being of anie great number, are to occupie ſome highe place, or mountaine, ſhewing them ſelues thereon with great front, & ſo they make a greater appearance of men then they are in deed, whereby they can not be readilie diſcouered: A caſe in which is to be noted, that ſuch as are ſent to diſcouer, muſt looke well to the horſſe feete, if they can clearelie diſcerne them, for that thereby may be perceiued whether the front be of any thicknes or no, or haue anie troupe of horſe, notwithſtāding any ſhew they make. The better to vnderſtande the certain number of horſe or fanterie which a ſquadron may holde more or leſſe, you muſt cauſe them to marke from on highe downward, for thē the forme is diſcouered of all partes, not making more appearance thereof then is in deede.

Aduiſe to diſcouer horſemen.

In marching thorough a ſtraight of anie Countrie, the vanguard muſt goe renforced with the infanterie, and that according as you holde anie ſuſpitiō of the enimie in that

Manner of marching through a ſtreyght contry.

parte

parte, accompanying it with ſome fielde pieces, if the way permitt: And in caſe the enimie be able to charge, you ſhal as well reenforce the vanguarde, diuiding the battaile in ſuch ſorte, as the Artillerie and baggage bee placed in the middeſt, ſince it is not of anie effect, carrying in the vanguard and rereguarde fielde pieces and harquebuſiers on horſe, or launces, ſuch as the diſpoſition of the Countrie ſhalbe capable of, if the way be ſo ſtraigth that the cariadge muſt be faine to goe ſo much in ranke, as hardlie the rereguarde can ſuccour the vanguarde, troupes of infanterie muſt marche on the two ſides of the baggage, in ſuch ſorte as they may giue hande one to another, makinge by this order an eaſie way for to repayre to that parte where moſt neede requireth.

It is as well to be conſidered in this diſpoſition of the Countries, and ſtraightnes of wayes, that other croſſe the vallies & breaches, where (for that the enimie may come out of them) for a gulpe of infanterie to make halte, to aſſure them vntill all the bagage and cauallerie may be paſſed, the infanterie retiring them ſelues then with the rereguarde.

In what manner to march thorough woods.

Being of neceſſitie to marche thorough woods which may be great, *Y.H.* muſt commaund to put a golpe of harquebuſerie in order, with which they muſt take the wood, and this harquebuſerie is to marche along the ſides of the way which the Armie is to paſſe, ſeruing as wings to couer it, with ſpredding them ſelues vppon the flankes of their owne Armie, & when there be founde anie planes in ſuch woodes, as ſometimes it falleth out, the cauallerie is in thē to make a halte, the better to aſſure the waye, the baggage folowing aſſoone as they haue paſſed the plane, and at the tayle thereof the infanterie, which neceſſarilie is to reſt with the rereguard, and at the cōming forth of the wood, if the fielde be open, the harquebuſerie is to ſtande, at the

ſkirte of the ſame wood, making halte vntill the Caualle-rie gaine the fielde with their ſquadrons, or the high pla-ces, being a hillie countrie. And for that commonlie in camping you may be enforced to paſſe riuers by ford or bridge, in which there is for the moſt parte much daunger by the aduantage which is giuē to the enimie by the able-neſſe of aſſayling a paſſage, or defending it: it is fitt that *Y. H.* haue good conſideration thereof, firſte vnderſtanding whether the enimie holde it fortified or no, and in what maner, ſeruing him ſelfe with Artillerie for defence there-of: becauſe then I would not councell *Y. H.* to attempt it, ſince neceſſarilie the Armie is to be diuided in the paſſage, and cōſequentlie the forces, which is to make the enimies greater, when as the cōſeruation of the whole armie ſtan-deth not vppon it, being otherwiſe a moſt daungerous coūrſe: and albeit that ſome haue putt it in execution, it hath bene more thorough the cowardiſe of ſuch as kept like paſſages, then for anie reaſon which could bee allead-ged for the gayning of them, which muſt be attempted with ſo great daunger & inequalitie, as falleth in that man-ner of fight, and ſo it ſhalbe fitt for the auoyding of this inconuenience, that *Y. H.* vſe great diligence and ſecrecie in paſſing of the riuers, ſeruing your turne with all ſortes of ſtratagemes and deuiſes, to the end the enimie may not preuent you, by before occupying the paſſage. In all acti-ons of warre, that is helde for beſt and moſt ſecure, which the enimie leaſt ſuſpecteth: and in paſſing of riuers it is of greater importāce then in any other, for the danger wher-with it is performed.

Paſſing of Riuers.

When there is found in the riuer anie forde with much water, or his current carying great violence, you are to bee enformed by the naturall countrie men, in what parte the fordes lye, howe deepe they are, and in what ſeaſon of the yere it may be paſt with leſſe or more facilitie, giuing light there-

therevnto: if the Riuer beareth ordinarilie much water, or holdeth great quantitie of land-waters ſwellinge with raines, and melting of ſnowes from of the mountaines, which cauſeth much furie to the riuers; whether the landing places at the forde be a plane, with trees, or rough & vneaſie: vpon theſe qualities *Y.H.* may take reſolutiō with your Councell, touching the forde by which you determine to paſſe, whether your cauallerie is to come before it grow morning, and with them a golpe of muſkettiers and harquebuſiers, which the infanterie is to followe, carying in vanguard fower or ſixe demye Canons, whereby they may poſſeſſe the brinckes of the riuer, ſo as the vanguarde may begin to paſſe, the harquebuſiers on horſſe folowing ſuch guydes and perſons as haue alreadie ſounded the forde, and ſtraight the light horſe and men at armes, euery ſoldior carrying on the buttock of his horſe a harquebuſier, or muſketier, which may alight aſſoone as they are paſſed ouer, occupying the moſt conuenient ſtandes, and the Cauallerie theirs, if the fielde permitt it, when they are not to returne, leauing the harquebuſerie aſſured, and the infanterie to paſſe on the horſe buttockes, renforcing the firſt, if the enimie be diſcouered, which ſhalbe hardlie able alreadie to hinder the paſſage.

If the depth of the Riuer and water be in that maner, as cartes may paſſe, they vſe to frame of them a kinde of bridges vpon which the reſt of the infanterie may paſſe, wetting them ſelues verie litle, which is a great commoditie to the armie. Vpon like occaſions the carriadge is wont to paſſe the forde, and the artillerie when it is not much, I haue ſeene paſſed ouer, diſmounting them with raftes, martinets, and other inſtruments which they carrie to that ende to the other ſide of the water, where a great gable is faſtened, which croſſeth the Riuer, ſtiffe drawne, and vpon that they hange ſtrong cordes, which they faſten to the eares

A newe inuention to paſſe artillery ouer Riuers.

eares of the piece, the which going betweene two waters, is easilie moued, the great corde running alongest the cable, vpon which the piece is hanged, and hereby the cable is able to beare it, when the corde is made in forme of a slyding knot, that it may be wyde inough to slippe; and one other great corde which is tied to the slyding knot, & another to the hādles of the piece, the which pull it to the other side of the Riuer, by giuing it motiō, which is easely done, by reason in this manner, for that the verie water by naturall reason lightneth the waight of the Artillerie, a thing which is palpable by experience. In this maner they vse to lande in little riuers the artillerie on the other side, when the forde for the owse doth not serue to passe it in carts, nor the Bridge stronge inough to beare the waight thereof.

I haue signified this particularitie to *T. H.* for that it is an invention of my time, and verie profitable vpon some occasions.

When they encampe within Prouinces where great & deepe Riuers are, the Armies ordinarilie carrie bridges of Barkes with them, that the whole armie may the more securelie passe, being verie easie to be framed vpp: and albeit that at other times they make them vpon barrills, cables, and plankes of timber, it is but to supplie necessitie, when they can not carrie boates whereby the Canon may securelie passe.

Maner how to cast a Bridge of boates ouer a Riuer,

In case it be necessarie that *T. H.* make a bridge of boates, or of anie other forme, you must commaunde that the whole Artillerie may be placed, which you would haue passed, vpon the brincke or shoare of the Riuer, marking it out for such places as you would vse it in.

The which being done, they must put the boates a crosse the water, forming a Bridge, vpō the plankes wherof they shall place some harquebusiers & musquetiers, the better

to

to assure the other side of the riuer, if the enimie chaūce to discouer that you minde to passe it. And assoone as euer the bridge is made, *Y.H.* shall commande that some harquebusiers on horse passe ouer with a golpe of harquebuserie, and some lances, if the field yeeld cōmoditie thervnto, & foure or sixe field pieces, some cartes & vastadors immediatlie following, wherwith the soldiers may fortifie the guard of the bridge, which verie well may keepe fiue hundreth men fortified, without indangering any greater number at the beginning, being sufficient for that effect: especiallie the rest of the Armie and bagage being to followe, Prouided that if *Y.H.* haue any suspition that the enimie may come to giue vpon the rereguarde, that the entrie of the bridge on the other side be well fortified, in such sorte, as the verie last of the soldiors which are to retire, may doe it with securitie: & the Pikes which are among them, are wont to carrie them in their retraite, trayling the heades along the bridge to the enimie wardes, to haue them the readier in hande, if it bee needfull to serue with them, with but turning their faces, leauing the bridge afterwards, if it shalbe necessarie. In case that *Y. H.* perceiue that the enimie renforceth him selfe for to charge them, you must commaunde that some pieces of artillerie be planted, assoone as they haue passed ouer the riuer to play vpon the enimie.

The whole Armie being passed, *Y. H.* may march with it according to the qualitie of the coūtry in one of the formes which I haue set downe, and according to the shewe which the enimie shall make, and before you come to the place where *Y.H.* purposeth to lodge, you must sende the Campe maister generall before for to view it, and to make out the lodging, in which is to bee considerd, besides those partes which I noted of water, wood, soyle, and wholesome ayre, whether it be fitt to haue it on a hill, for that ordinarilie in such scituations there is want of water and pastures, & com- Qualitie of lodgings.

ming to ſeeke for it below the hill, beſides the diſcõmoditie and toyle in clamering vp with the victualls, the enimie may eaſily hinder both, & beſiege the mẽ if the moũtain be high, where likewiſe the artillerie cã ſerue to no great purpoſe, except it hold a proportion to ſhoot frõ an high downwards.

In lodging vpon the ſide of an hill, they commonlie point out the market place in the higheſt part thereof, prouided that the diſtance from the quarters thervnto, be not ſo great as that the ſoldiours muſt bee faine to bring their Armes breathles with clambring for to fight, which is a great incõuenience, and no ſmall one to be faine to holde the Corps de guard wel renforced to entertaine play with the enimie, while the men come togither to ſett them ſelues in battaile: if you deſcend from the ſide of the hill and quarters downe to the markett place in a plane, it is done likewiſe with great diſadvantage, for that the whole power commeth to be diſcouered, which the enimie lying cloſe may with great certaintie playe vpon.

Theſe be the inconueniences which ſouldiors put in like lodgings, and ſo are they eſteemed for beſt in a plain, when they are not neare any mountaine or hill from whence the enimie by occupying it, may offend with his Artillerie the market place or quarters, for theſe cauſes are lodginges beſt on the plane, not holding anie enimie neare, eſpeciallie if there be any wood behinde their ſhoulders or flankes, or that there be any lakes, breaches or riuer whereby to guard the flanckes or ſholders: prouided that the quarters be not ſo placed, as that if the riuer ſwell, it may be able to doe any hurt with cõming in, nor the enimie by getting any Arme thereof, to drowne them, nor yet to fumiſh the lodging by putting them ſelues in front at the entrie thereof, whẽ there is no other way for them which occupie it to get forth.

Iointlie when there is anie eminencie of ſcituation, and that you muſt be enforced to lodge neare vnto it, let it bee

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kept by placing men, on the toppe, leaſt the enimie poſſeſſe him ſelfe thereof, ſo as it be no further diſtant thē you may be well able to ſuccour it, for that otherwiſe it would bee a greater miſchiefe by looſing your people: And I doe not councell (as ſome are of opiniō) that it is fitt to turne backe to gaine againe the moūtaine, ſince that in matter of ſtandes and lodgings, nothing is to be helde for good which may be bettered, neither is it fitt to occupie it to any other endē, thē ſtill to mainteine it, without thinking to recouer it again

Theſe aduertiſements which I haue ſignified vnto *Y. H.* hold in generall as concerning the election of lodginges, which are to be proportioned with the circumſtāces of the caſe, motiue of warre, forces of the enimie, & place in which they ſtande, holding alwayes a conſideration before their eyes, which is of greater importance then all the reſt for lodgings, and that is, to chuſe them in ſuch ſorte as may hold a verie euill acces for the enimie vnto them, and a good ſalie for them which occupie them: A qualitie which is not poſſible to be particulariſed vnto *Y. H.* except it bee with the preſent occaſion, and much experience, which teacheth of what moment an ill approch is for him which is to fight, & a good ſalie for thoſe which would doe it, or diſlodge. This may be ſaid to be it, which men in ancient time denied, whē they deſired that the frontieres of their common wealthes, which they builded in rough and raggie places, might hold a good aſſent on their parte, and an vneaſie on the enimies, which ſometimes commeth to giue impediment to him to lodge, and then the election of the ſcituation being made, he placeth all his Cauallerie in fronte, ſtāding in ſquadrons to couer the fortifying, ſo as it can not be diſcouered before it be fullie finiſhed.

Qualitie of greateſt importance in lodgings.

In countries which are much peopled, they vſe to diſperſe the caualleric from the infanterie, to giue commoditie of houſes, and forrage, which is done in ſuch maner, as the Ca-

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uallerie couereth the infanterie, whē they are not ſent out, and the infanterie ſeuered, to keepe watche a nightes, the Campe maiſter generall ordayning it, and that victualls bee brought if it be neceſſarie.

When as the lodgings be fortified, & that there be houſes round about, *Y.H.* may not permit your mē to goe & lodge in them, for that they ſerue to no other end then to giue occaſion to the enimie to cutt their throates in the night by ſtanding without guarde.

The Campe-maiſter generall hauing deuided the quarters, and market place, in ſuch maner as I ſignified to *Y. H.* in the firſt lodging, the Quarter maiſter is in particular to tickett them out to the harbengers & furriers: which done, he may goe to reſt, and the Captaines of the ſkoutes and Centinels, which are thoſe that are to be firſt lodged by reaſon of being wearie a nightes, and the companie of the Campemaiſter generalls horſe, if he haue anie, and this to be done while the vangarde ſtandeth in ſquadron, and the battaile be come, which is then to goe to lodge, the battayle remayning in ſquadrō vntill the artillerie, munition, bagage and rereguard haue entred into the lodging.

Whō are firſt to be lodged.

In this time the Campe maiſter generall, ſhall viewe the moſt conuenient ſcituation where to place the day guarde on what parte the enimie is likelie to come, and the Captain which ſhall haue charge thereof, ſhall drawe out the Centinells to their ſtandes, without diſperſinge them ſo as they ſhould looſe the ſight of the Corps de garde, prouided that if there be any vallies or woods, by which the enimie ſhould be able to cutt them off, more centinells be placed to diſcouer, in ſuch ſorte as the corps de guarde may ſee them, who are ordinarilie to aduertiſe *Y.H.* of ſuch men as the centinels diſcouer, be they more or leſſe, which muſt by no meanes departe from their ſtandes without order, nor the corps de guarde to charge the enimie, although he be ſuperior vnto him,

him,with whom he may ſkirmiſhe to entertaine time, ſtill aduertiſing *Y.H.* who are to giue order for what ſhalbe moſt conuenient, & in caſe the enimie renforce them ſelues, and that no ſuccour come,then are they to retire in good order, ſo as ſtill they intertaine them,giuing time & aduiſe to *Y.H.*

In ſome lodgings it is not inough for diſcouerie to place one Cordeguarde, a matter which the Campe maiſter generall is to foreſee, be they two or more, according to the qualitie of the ſcituation, and that the guardes of horſe, the daies being long & whot,may be changed at noone, wherby they may not ouer trauell.

The ſcituation for one cordeguard or more being chooſen out,the Campe maiſter general with the generall of the Artillerie,and other heads of the armie muſt viewe the lodging round about, appointing the ſtandes which the Cordeguardes are to be placed in by night,and ſuch fortificatiõ as he ordaineth, the rereguarde being alwayes in ſquadron; if there be anie ſuſpect helde of the enimie , vntill the lodging be fortified: A matter which is done more or leſſe, according as the time ſerueth, and as they thinke to occupie the ſcituation.

This being done,& that the day-guard which is to make it,ſtande in their places,the ſquadrons of the rereguard,and corryers which come behinde goe to be lodged, the guard of the field remayning entierlie where they are ſett.

It is fitt that *Y.H.* come to lodge in a good hower, as well for the greater eaſe of your men, as that you may haue time to fortifie your ſelf, if it be neceſſarie, thorough the enimies being at hande, things which are verie ill performed in the night: and the better to aſſure the forragers, you are to cõſider the enimie being able to doe hurte, that horſe bee ſent to diſcouer,and make ſkoute if occaſion require it,preuenting that the Armie miſcarrie not, and your men bee loſt, who albeit they be not armed, yet is it a reputation to pre-

ſerue them, and a benefitt of the fielde.

Guardes to be renforced whē you are neare the enimie.

When the enimie draweth neare to the ſcituation which is alreadie poſſeſſed, they vſe to renforce the guarde more then in other ſtandes, and this by diuiding the Armie into three partes, that one may keepe guarde a nightes while the other two reaſt, and in caſe the ſuſpicion increaſe, that then they put halfe of the armie to guarde, conſidering that it is a leſſe incōuenience to ſtande readie prepared, although they toyle for it, thē to be careles: this maketh officers to anſwere ſoldiors, if they complaine of their euer oftē guarding, that the K. payeth for the guardes, not for the fight: The particular of ones ſelfe depending on the one, and the common ſecuritie of the Armie on the other.

They vſe aſwell to putt betweene the principall corps de guarde, and the double Centinells, other ſmall cordegardes of ſuch number of ſoldiors, as may ſerue to change the centinels; the which carefull Seriants Maiors will of thē ſelues looke vnto, as well for that it may be done with greater facilitie, as alſo for that one ſingle centinell giuing warning to the double, and by that which they ſee, they are more aſſured whether it be certain or no, then by report of others: & if it be neceſſarie for him to retire, he doeth it to the double Centinells, which are three ſouldiors, and they to the leſſer Cordeguarde.

The ſame order may be helde among the guardes of cauallerie, which they ſett without the fortification, if much ſuſpicion be had: and the Captaines and Lieuetenants of horſſe, in reaſon as men experienced, ſhal place men in ſuch partes & wayes, as the enimie is to paſſe, the guardes of horſe being that which aſſureth the campe moſt, and likewiſe the garriſons which muſt of force be ſcattered from it: hereby time is gained with diſcouering the enimie to preuent him, ſtanding readie prepared for him, the better to be able, to prouide for anie hurt before it falleth out.

Iointlie

Iointlie there is another way of preuention in time of ſuſpect, the enimy being near, or if you be deſirous to know whether he ſend anie men forth of his Campe by night, or diſlodge, which is to place centinells a foote and on horſſe ſo neare his Campe, as that for daunger therof they may not haue the worde giuen them, and are named forlorne, carying other markes whereby they may be knowne of the centinells, in caſe they returne to bring any newes. Beſides the care which muſt be had to ſeeke out good ſpyes, a matter of ſo great importance in the warre, it is a verie good meanes to hold day and night vpon the enimie, one, two, or more troupes of horſſe, which may goe by diuers wayes, with good guydes, fifteene or twentie in a number, & with euerie one an officer which may be experienced, and carrie a ſoundnes of iudgement to viewe, without making any hurlie burlie. Forlorne centinels

Theſe troupes ſalying out of the Campe by night, carrie not the worde but their leader giueth one among them ſelues when they are abroad, by which they may knowe one another, being that if anie of them ſhould be loſt, the enimie ſhould not come by it: and being to returne with anie intelligence by night, the officer which goeth with them, hath order to ſende before a ſouldiour, who is to giue warning to the Centinell, that they take not the alarom vppon ſeeing of the troupe, and that he declare to his Captaine, howe ſuch an officer of the Corriors is come, and then the Centinell ſhall aduertiſe him thereof, willing the ſouldiour to retire, who ſhall make the ſame knowen to *Y. H.* or the Campe maiſter generall, who muſt giue order for what ſhal be moſt conuenient, & in caſe that he come into the campe that then an officer of the Cordeguarde goe forth whiche knoweth the word, to giue order that the Centinells ſuffer him to paſſe after hauing well taken knowledge of him.

The ſame courſe is held when anie troupes of infanterie

or

or cauallerie haue gone to keepe ſkoute, or vpon any other ſeruice, to ſende if it be at the howres that Centinels are ſet, to giue warning by ſome ſoldior which ſhall goe before, that they make no ſturre, or raiſe any alarum vpon the ſight of them: The which muſt be preuented, and *Y. H.* or the Campe maiſter generall muſt haue warning before they diſcouer them, who are to march ſlowlie: and in caſe that any come to enter within the Campe, and carie the worde, for that the generall gaue it vnto him, and would ſpeak with him at any hower without looſing time, the ſingle Centinell on foote or horſe, is to bring him as farre as the double, and one of them to carrie him to his Captaine at the Cordegarde, who is to deliuer him to the principall officer, that he may aduertiſe the Campe maiſter generall thereof, if the newes be not of ſo great moment, as to deſerue to bee preſentlie caried to *Y. H.*

Preuētions for fighting by night.

Some vſe in like ſorte when the enimie is much ſuperior in Cauallerie, & that they feare he will aſſayle the lodgings in the night, to make great fieres before the market place, which diſcouereth whoſoeuer cometh, and dazeleth them, not to be able to ſee againe who there attendeth: other prepare themſelues by making diches before the market place, in maner of pitfalls for to annoye the horſe, & ſkatter ſome prickes of yron, and in this conformitie euery one applieth what he thinketh moſt to purpoſe for his owne defence, according to the occaſion which is offered and ſuſpition had.

I haue ſignified to *Y. H.* all theſe formes of warres, for that it was neuer hurtfull to anie man, though he were farr from the enimie, much leſſe neare, to ſtande vpon his guarde, and that with great warieneſſe, though ſome ſay that *Y. H.* in ſo doeing, doeth but giue reputation to the enimie, and ſhewe a feare of him, for that in warre ſuch as are reachles, are euerie moment payd home, and neuer did a circumſpect ſouldior receiue hurte, nor an obſtinate good, an enimie being

to be cõtemned at the time of fight, but alwayes to be eſteemed for pointe of warre; for this cauſe the errors of a Superior in matters of gouernement and pollicie, may bee compared to lingring infirmities, which giue leaſure to thinke in matters of remedie, but thoſe of warr to ſharpe ones, whoſe beginning is the ende of the patient.

The alarum being taken by night, which ought to be vpõ good ground, thoſe officers being to looke vnto it that take charge of viſiting the Centinells at diuers houres, that they may ſtande in readines, the ſingle Centinels are to retire to the double, vpon the enimies charge, and the double to the ſmall corps de garde, which ioine them ſelues with the principall, wherwith they make a ſquadron, and whether all the armes, banners and ſtandarts are to repaire. Order vpõ alarum.

Such companies as ſerue for guard vnto *Y. H.* are placed in ſquadron without mouing from their ſtandes, and ſo are thoſe which guarde the Artillerie, & ſometimes in the lodgings ſome other colours ſtand for guarde, in ſuch partes as they are appointed to make a ſquadron in the ſame place, for the inconuenience which might follow in caſe it ſhould be abandoned, being loſt time in going to the generall markett place, as they muſt doe by day, for that then being able to knowe which way the enimie directes, the Commander hath time to ſende men to withſtande him, being readie in the market place, whether all make their appearance: a matter which vpon alarum by night can not be done.

Thoſe officers whoſe Centinells firſte began, are to enforme *Y. H.* from what parte they come, and vpon what occaſion, giuing warning to the cordeguarde next hande, that they retire their Centinells, the furie of the alorum continuing, and that no trumpet ſounde vpon paine of looſing a hande, vntill *Y. H.* owne haue done, which ought to be the beſt and moſt ſkilfullieſt in that arte.

The like order is to be kept by the dromes, when they do

ſounde alarum, thoſe which ſtande on *Y. H.* guarde beginning, when they may be heard, being in reaſon that they are better able to knowe vppon what ground the Alarom riſeth, where *Y. H.* perſon reſteth, & before anie other parte: and manie times the voyce of Arme happeneth to come within the verie campe, before anie centinells haue cried it, who are not to retire from their ſtandes without the enimie force them, or that their officer come to him vppon the alarom, and then *Y. H.* muſt giue a newe worde in returning to place againe, and the men goe to lodge, for feare leaſt the enimie ſhould get the word by hauing taken any centinell, nor that anie ſpye, if he haue entred that night vpon the rumor of Alarom, ſhould eſcape forth vntil it were day: when the Sergiants Maiors, being of experience, & other officers come to aſke the word of *Y. H.* after hauing put the men in ſquadron, and ordred them to lodge, you muſt know whether the Centinells be retired or no.

Conſideration in plantinge of a ſieg againſt a place.

Y. H. encamping with intent to invade any lande, the motiue which is helde in warre ſo requiring it, to cauſe the enimie to leaue anie ſtrong holde, or to come to fight for the ſuccour thereof, to gett victualls, or ſett foote within the Prouince, muſt in reaſon before hande haue relation and knowledge of the ſcite and fortification which it holdeth, the number of men which are to defend it, & whether they be ſoldiors or no, and with what head: and not to learne this onely from the naturall perſons of the countrey, but from ſpyes, or ſuch other as vnder colour of negotiations, treaties, or priſoners haue bene ſent to view any ſuch place, and the wayes thereof.

Y. H. muſt ſignifie vnto your Councellors the relation of any ſuch information as perſons of experience, or the naturall men of that countrey ſhall deliuer, for to take the laſt reſolution in what maner the ſiege muſt be layed, folowing with much preciſenes their liking and opinion, for that to be-

beſiege a place is one of the matters in warre, which aſketh much conſideration, weighing the enterpriſe, for that haſtines is an enimie of good councell, & delaie neuer good but to repreſſe anger and diſpleaſure, for which cauſe reſolutions are to be taken with valor of the minde, for that they otherwiſe be ambiguous, which neither come to helpe thoſe which take them, nor endemnifie the enimie, & frō whence great miſchiefs haue redounded to Princes, as often as they haue entended ſtages without it, and in particular if they haue not helde quantitie of artillerie, with boundance of munitions, wherwith to oppen a ſufficient Batterie, making the ſoldiers and Corporalls which followe them, the more eaſilie to ſhewe thereby their courage, when they come to hand-ſtrokes with the enimie, which is that which in the ende gayneth the places, the honor thereof being dewe to them, and to the generall the blocking vp of the paſſages, whereby to hinder ſuccours, placing the batterie in the beſt parte thereof.

The firſt matter which *Y. H.* is to debate of, is whether they muſt make one or two lodginges or more before that you come to laie ſiege diſcouertlie, enquiring whether ther be no townes rounde about, making ſhewe as though you meant to beſiege one of them, and not that which you pretend in deede, to finde it thereby the leſſe prouided: for this cauſe the Armie muſt bee diuided and marche on diuers partes, and in the night with great diligence troupes of ſoldiours muſt be ſent to take the paſſages and places whereby men may come to enter within the countrie.

Being able to beſiege with making one lodging onelie, is the better, becauſe of putting the greater feare in thoſe whiche are within, ſeeing them ſelues ſuddenlie encloſed, preuēting with ſpeedines that they do not hinder the taking of the lodging, and burne the ſuburbes & houſes about, which is of great moment, nor to haue readie their Artillerie, and

other things which in this conformitie may be had by dallying the time of the ſiege, if thoſe which ſtande vpon their defence come to ſuſpect it, for this they vſe when the Coũtrie holdeth three or foure paſſages or ſayles, to ſend by day or night men, if the ſcituation permitt, that at one inſtante they may occupie the paſſagages thereof, making great diligence in fortifying them, with trenches, ditches, and traueſſes, whereby they ſtopp anie ſuccour from them, & let them within frõ ſaling forth, being ſo near, hauing many meanes to be able to offende them, if they entende anie ſalie with greater ſecuritie.

To execute this enterpriſe, the Armie is to march according as the countrie ſerueth, in one of the manners which I haue ſet downe, and in the vandguarde the Campe maiſter generall to be ſo well renforced with Cauallerie and infanterie, as that he may be ſuperior to thoſe within, being able thereby, if they make anie ſalie to charge them with determination, & readines, ſo as he make them turne tayle, without looſing any time vpon the occaſion which may be offered, according to the diſpoſition of the place and borders about, happening ſome times vpon the like charges, to ſlaye or take ſome of the leaders which ſalie out to guyde the beſieged, of whom intelligence may be taken: a matter which greatlie quayleth them, and in particular if they receyue much hurte vpon the firſt brunt, which bringeth them to bethinke them ſelues of yeelding.

It hath likewiſe fallen out that they haue ſo mingled thẽſelues with the enimie, as that they haue gayned the place, entring pele mele one with another into it, by reaſon of diſordring them ſelues vpon the retreat, and not holdinge the guard of the gates fortified with Baricados, & other things, which they vſe in like places where they liue circũſpectly and with good guarde.

And albeit theſe effectes ſometimes happẽ, to charge the enimie

enime with determination, is to gett to approch the walles, assalting the enimie, and to viewe the manner of them, the diches, loopeholes, & traueſſes, marking with the eye whether the fortification be chaunged or no, from the relation which before you had, and newe defences made, & by this meanes gaine time to straighten them, which is the ende which the beſieger is to worke for, as to enlarge him ſelfe is his which defendeth, the moſt which may bee poſſible for him, from his neighbourhood.

In this charge the Cãpe maiſter generall is to marke that the ſquadrons of the Cauallerie be not placed in ſuch ſorte as that the artillerie from the plattformes and caualiers of earth may much annoy them, viewing if he be a ſoldior the places as well in the wayes as other ſtandes, where the enimie may in reaſon ayme with his pieces: a particular which may be knowen with the eye, and experience of a ſouldior, aſſoone as he ſeeth the field, and diſcouereth the countrie.

Aduiſe how to preſent men at a ſiege.

The enimie being dulled within the place, the Campemaiſter generall is to marke out the lodging, aſſigninge the quarters as neare as may be vnto it, and that without being ſubiect to the Canon: and albeit that the bullettes light frõ the place beſieged vpon ſome of the quarters, giuing to the pieces as much charge as they can hold, it is no great inconuenience: The quarters ought to be diſpoſed in ſuch ſorte as that the Towne be encloſed round about, that none may eſcape out, nor bee able to relieue thoſe whiche are beſieged, with either men or victualls, being to no purpoſe to vndertake anie ſuch enterpriſe, without a moſt ſtrong lodging: neither can a Town in deed be ſaid to be beſieged, except it be enuironed on all partes, and whẽ any ſuſpitiõ ariſeth, that the enimie is like to come with a maine Armie to ſuccour it, thẽ doe they fortifie the lodging aſwell towards the walles as the fieldes, which they muſt haue a great care ouer, preuẽting the approches which the enimie may make

Conſideration in diſpoſing of quarters.

for to put in ſuccor, or giue vpon the lodging, which is to be fortified as ſhall be thought fitteſt, making traueſſes, Baricados, or trenches, if occaſion require, and by Y.H. ſtāding readie prepared after ſuch maner as you are to diſpoſe your Armie in battaile to attende him according to the ſcituatiō, and that after ſuch a faſhion as may defend the whole body of the lodging, being aſſayled on diuerſe parts or one alone, one quarter giuing hande to another, in the caſe the enimie attempt anie one with greater furie then the reſt; orders which are better executed by being before hande forethought of & prepared, then iuſt vpō the enimies diſcouerie

If any riuer runne by the Town, the Campe muſt needes be diuided into two or three partes for to beſiege it, which aſketh that they be well fortified, ſo as euerie one may of it ſelfe defend it ſelfe, with ſuch leader as Y.H. ſhall place in euerie ſtand, and to ſuccour from one quarter to another.

I doe not lay downe to Y.H. ſuch maner of bridges and engines as I haue ſeene made, for to worke all theſe effectes, for that I would not be to tedious, and that it is neceſſarie a man gouerne him ſelfe in theſe enterpriſes according to the preparations which are to be made for ſuch a ſiege, & as the qualitie of ſuch a riuer is, and furie of the current which it holdeth, which is to giue law, whether it be better to frame the bridge making it aboue the towne or belowe, or both, ſo as thoſe within may not be able to ſerue their turne with the current for to vndoe it, by putting down of barkes vpō the ebbe with men, and artificial fiers for to breake & burne it, if the current ſerue for it, and conſequentlie if the bridge ſtande below the Towne, that the enimie come not vp aſſiſted with winde and tide to ſpoyle it, and ſuccour the beſieged, and ſo whether it ſhalbe conuenient or no to fortifie the entries of the bridges with anie rauelin, or defence, keeping a renforced guarde, for that it ſtandeth ioyned to the quarters.

The

The Armie being lodged, and the towne viewed, as well by the generall of the artillerie, as other leaders and ſouldiours of experience, *Y.H.* muſt take reſolution on what parte you will plant your batterie, or batteries, conſidering that ordinarilie in cold countries the walles which ſtande to the North, and which lye ſubiect to the Septentrionall windes, are weaker then the other, and in warme, thoſe which ſtand on the South: A qualitie which is to be marked, and what rampier they holde, and the thicknes thereof, and whether the wall be builded of newe, in being more eaſie to batter it: whether there be ſpace where you batter betweene one tower or bulwarke and another, ſo as you may make your batterie for eight or nine ſouldiours to be able to enter in front, which diſtance is helde for a great Batterie, & allowed for good in caſe they be not able to aſſayle in front. Iointlie it is to be conſidered whether the wall yeeld cõmoditie by anie angle or corner to be able to croſſe the batterie, fot that then they within can hardlie defend it, and to make two batteries when it may be by aſſalting the towne in two places at once, is much better then a ſingle, thoſe which ſtande at one batterie ſtill fearing leaſt they enter by the other, and hereby ſtande vpon their defence verie ielous of their own deſtruction, and there is no noyſe of woomen or children heard, how ſmall ſoeuer it be, which giueth them not ſome care looking back what it meaneth: a particular which ſundrie times cauſeth places to bee the ſooner gayned, and in this reſpect they attempt other by aſſalting in ſũdrie partes, making ſhew of carying ladders & other prouiſions, where they neuer purpoſe to enter, onely with intent to diuert the enimie, puttinge him with the ſuſpition thereof in great feare, ſeeing him ſelfe readie to be aſſalted, which euery thing increaſeth, augmenting a diſtruſt, vnles the reſolution of honorable Breaſtes deſpiſe it; matters which muſt be reſolued on without looſing time, and in ſome place they

Conſideration in plãting of batterie.

plante

plante pieces on the plaine groũd without gabions or trenches, when as the town which they would take, holdeth no defence, nor that it is neceſſarie to vſe anie greater diligẽce, then to batter a gate, or open a Portal. In this you muſt proceed according to the men which are within, and qualitie of the walles and ditches, if there be anie, becauſe whẽ they within may be able to holde time without yeeldinge, it is not good to goe about to batter, without couering of the artillerie, & making of trenches, for that without theſe two things is but to venter and put in hazard manie men, and giue greater courage to thoſe within, when they ſhal ſee the loſſe which is without.

In making the approche, as they terme it, as much to ſay as to come neare to the walles and ditches, the Artillerie & munitions being readie, they vſe, the enimie being retired within the walles, and the place where they are to batter well viewed by the general of the artillerie and other heads of the Armie, to marche with great Culuerings, and pointing them, to ſuch parapetts, platformes and Caualiers, as they may beſt ſerue in, to begin to quitte ſome defenſes, drawing while the Coluerins play, the Cannon as neare as they can, to quitte the loopeholes & defences, in ſuch ſorte as they may not diſcouer the Coluerines, or deſcrie them neare hande, being places where the ehimie may doe miſchiefe, the demie Cannons, Coluerines, and quarter Cannons folowing the Cannon as neare as can be, and ſhoting where the Coluerines and Cannons haue battered, throwing downe the defenſes the beſt that they can, & that with ſpeed and diligence, cauſing the enimie in one, two dayes or more, to quitte the Canonries and traueſſes : which being done, or continuing to procure it, it giueth a beginning that no loſſe of time be to worke more eaſilie in the night, and with greater ſecuritie vpon the trenches, the enimie hauing no ſecure place whence to diſcharge a piece for his

own

own defence, the great cannons being then able to better their place where the batterie is to be made, and to begin or continew the trenches if they be in hande alredie, which in ſuch place as much ſande is, they rayſe with ſtones, which are verie daungerons trenches for hurting much people with their own ſtones, as often as a bullett lighteth, & when the ſoyle is waterie, ſome helpe it with cheſtes of wood, filling it with earth, other with gabions, with which cõmonlie they couer the artillerie, allowing them eight foote of diameter, which is large inough for a defence: and in Barbarie where there is ſo great aboundance of ſande, little earth and want of trees, they haue bene wont to make their gabions by putting ſtakes into the ground, faſtening thẽ with ropes of bentes, in ſteed of boughes, weauing them ſo cloſe togither, as that they may fill them with ſande: It is a matter vnpoſſible to deliuer to *Y. H.* at what place the trenches are to begin, nor whether they ſhould be long or ſhorte, nor whether for the better couering of the artillerie with which they batter, they muſt bring it as farre as the brincke of the diche, or come to diſemboke within it, nor to goe with trauerſes through the ſame ditch forwards, if the qualitie therof permitt it, nor if it ſtand brim full of water, with the more eaſe to be able to make bridges within it, vpon which after the batterie made, the aſſalt may be giuen, or to bee able to come in barkes or boates to the verie batterie and walles, particulars which I can not reſolue, except I were preſent vpon the verie ground, & as occaſion preſenteth gouerning ones ſelfe in this, and in the guardes of the trenches & other thinges according to the reſiſtance which the enimie maketh, and progreſſe in prolonging or ſhortning the ſiege.

Manner of trenches.

The chiefeſt point to be conſidered is, that the trenches be wrought with much heed and conſideration, taking care to guyde them with the bulwarkes, towers, and flanckes of the walles, making the windings in ſuch ſorte as no piece of the

What is to be cõſidered in working of trenches.

enimie may be able to emboke them, nor to batter by direct line anie bowe or windings of them, being ſo much the better, by how much they are deeper, broader, and higher, and approche neareſt vnto the quarters: and in caſe that the principall heades of the Armie be enforced ordinarilie to goe vnto them, it is verie fitt when there is a quantitie of vaſtadors, to aſſure the entrie, *Y. H.* not hazarding thoſe perſonages which are about you, by reaſon that the want of anie leader may proue verie preiudiciall.

Albeit that trenches are commonlie made after the maner which I haue ſett downe vnto *Y. H.* yet I haue my ſelfe bene in place, where they wrought them ſtraight, with flankers on high, which ſeemed verie ſtrange to thoſe ſouldiors which ſawe it, & to very good purpoſe by gayning of time in not making windings: wherein is to be conſidered, the diſpoſition of the grounde, ſeruing to bee able to worke a ſtreigth trenche, that bowes be made out from one parte to another to renforce them with men, for that a ſtreight one is not able to receiue manie, and it is verie neceſſarie to hold them well renforced with ſoldiors, and prouided of budgebarills, that the harquebuſerie may ſhoote with more ſecuritie, to whom order is to be giuen, that by no meanes they talke to them within, auoyding thereby any aduertiſement which might vnder hande be giuen, as ſometimes it hath fallen out of what hath not bene fitt to be diſcouered.

What it required in places whēs to make batterie.

Concerning the trenches, the place ought to bee before hande well viewed and aſſured whence they are to batter: In which ſixe pointes are to be conſidered: Firſte, that it be ſtrong by nature, or capable to be made ſo by arte. Secondlie, that the ſouldiors may be able to furniſhe and combate within it with commoditie & defence. Thirdlie, to be able to retire the artillerie eaſilie frō the place, if neceſſitie ſhould ſo require. Fourthlie, that the ſcituation be capable to plant pieces within it, in ſuch ſorte as they may bee able to hitt

point blancke vppon ſuch parte or partes as they minde to batter. Fiftlie, that there be a place prepared readie for the ſouldiours to giue the aſſalt after the batterie made, which will be to ſmall purpoſe, if the approch vnto it be vnacceſſible. Sixtlie, that the batterie ſtande not to neare the walles, leaſt the enimie chaunce to annoy manie men with his harquebuſiers, nor conſequentlie that to avoyd this inconuenience, it be too farre of, where the furie thereof ſhalbe able to worke but ſmall effect.

Some holde that Batterie for the beſt, when the pieces may be foure ſcore or one hundreth paces from the wall, their furie being nothing ſo great, whē they ſtande one hūdreth and fiftie or two hūdreth of: vpon which is inferred that at three hūdred, or how much ſoeuer more, the pieces be planted, they batter with leſſe force. For which cauſe other are of opinion, that the pieces were beſt to be placed, if it were poſſible, vpon the verie brym of the diche, whereby they ſignifie that according to their opinion they ſhould be drawen to batter as neare as might be to the walles: vppon this when the place which is beſieged holdeth a number of men within, it falleth out a great inconuenience, if they bee ſoldiors, beſides being able to hurt many in being ſo neare, which is to giue occaſion to thoſe within to make braue ſalies, vnder hope to clow ſome piece by lying ſo neare, and to be able to be defended by their harquebuſerie and muſketrie from of the walles: a particular much to be regarded, conſidering the commoditie of doores or cloſe caſaments, which the beſieged may holde, to ſalie out vpon the artillerie, or trenches, and whether before they come neare vnto them, they muſt of force be deſcried a farre of or no, to the end that if they be diſcouered before they enter ſkirmiſhe, there may be ſpace to renforce the guard of the Artillerie with ſoldiors and armes, for which time ſerueth not, if ſodenlie they be able to giue vpon them and the trenches.

What diſtāce is beſt in planting of a batterie

It was held in old time a compleat Batterie to batter with fixe Cannons, two Coluerines, and fower demie Coluerines, and twelue Sakers or Falconets, a thing which hardly can be declined to *T.H.* by anie certaine rule, for that the number of the pieces and batterie is to be cõsidered according to the qualitie of the place or fortresse whiche you would batter with them: Those pieces which carrie bullett betweene fortie and three score pound, they now commõlie call Cannõs of batterie, & those which passe three score, Basiliscoes, notwithstanding this, such Cannons as commonlie are founded for batterie, be of eight and thirtie, fortie, and fower and fortie pounde of * weight, & the demie Cannons of fower and twentie, being found by experience not to be pieces of much wast, doeing sufficient effecte for batterie, and with greater facilitie to be maneaged then any other sorte of pieces, as well to encampe with all, as for a siege, and when a warre is broken out betweene two Princes, one attempting vpon another, they vse to giue more or lesse weight to the bulletts of their Cãnon of batterie, then the contrarie part vseth, whereby ones bullet may not serue another, in sorte as if the bullet on one side weighe two and fortie pound, the other shallbe of eight and thirtie, or six & fortie, somewhat more or lesse: iointlie they accompanie these pieces in the batteries as I haue sett downe with demie Coluerines, quarter Cannons, demie sacres, and fielde pieces, which commonlie they carrie when cõmoditie serueth for it, great Armies bringing with them of all sortes of Artillerie to euery purpose placing the smal pieces, on such partes and ground, as may best conuenientlie stoppe the salies of the besieged, and other passages, by which the enimie might come to succour.

* *Calibre*, frõ the word we tooke firste the name of caliner, whiche is of a higher bore then the harquebuse, & there is an instrument like to a pair of cõpasses, with the whiche the weight & height of bulletts are measured: we call that in English a Calabet.

These pieces being planted with their beddes, which are made of tymber planckes or hurdles, they couer them with gabions and diches, as well for the securitie of the Pyoners

(which

(which assiste to retire them with the gunners, & doe other necessaries) as the guard of the artillerie, fortifying the situation thereof, in such sorte as whē the enimie drjueth the men from their trenches which they haue to couer them, & passe forward either to gaine or clowe the Artillerie, the soldiors which stand at the guard, may hold sufficient strength to defende it. To batter the walles when they are onelie a casamure without rampire of earth, you must plant your pieces in such sorte as they may batter the walles a slante, for that then they breake them worse then shooting by direct line, by which they onely pearce thorough the wall with much furie, without shaking it. The approch being made, driuing the trenches as neare the towne as may be, the batterie is to be planted, which is to begin in this order, that is to shoote of those pieces with which you batter determinablie by voleyes one after another, being of greater effect so, then if they should be discharged euery one by it selfe, and then after a voley passed, shooting off those pieces which stand at the defences, to the ende the enimie may not discouer while they be charged a new, and put in ther place: and the like is to be done by the harquebuserie & musketrie frō the trenches, keeping the enimie from shewing him self vntill they returne to giue another voley, which is the manner whereby a batterie is continued, seruing them selues with the greater pieces to shake the wall, breaking it a pieces, and with the lesser to cutt it after, and to make the greater ruine by the falling of that which was shaken, in anie wise hastening the batterie with all the diligence that may be, and to plie it so (if it be possible) as so manie voleys as should serue turne, might be shott in one day rather then two, diligence in batteries being of great moment, and for manie respectes to be vsed: a busines which wil giue them that are besieged to thinke on, when they see them selues furiouslie battered. For this purpose, besides the diligence which the generall

Maner how to batter.

of the artillerie, his Lieuetenants and officers are to vſe, the gunners finding that they gaine particularlie by euerie voley which they diſcharge, are to giue cartages & budgebarrels, to charge more eaſilie, & ſpeedilie: and by this meanes I haue bene preſent at a ſiege where there hath ben diſcharged in the end of Auguſt when the dayes are not very long, fouer ſcore and on tyre in one day, the batterie being of ſixe and thirtie pieces. It is true that in reſpect it was in a colde countrey, they cooled not their Cannons as they muſt bee forced to doe in whot, and thereby looſe much time.

At night when the laſt tyre is ſhot of and the pieces charged, they place them as if preſentlie they were to be diſcharged, to hinder them which are beſieged from repayring any breach which is done by ſhooting of euerie piece by it ſelfe in the night at ſuch hower as is convenient.

In this time if the diche be drye, may be viewed the Canoniries, and caſamates which are within it, and the dammage which the ruine of the batterie hath wrought, and if it holde water, they to deuiſe to let it out if the grounde will ſerue for it, or to drain it with engins for the purpoſe, or to ſtopp it vp with Fagotts, or fill it with earth, as I haue ſeene it in a ſiege, & to make readie if it hold any depthe, bridges, which are to be thrown in for the aſſalte made of Barrelles, Barkes, and ſhip-maſtes: the throwing of them in being a matter of ſufficient peril, and great danger for a generall to commaunde an aſſalt to be giuen before he haue well viewed the batterie, and the traueſſes quited, vſing all diligence in this: albeit it is true that the traueſſes where the harquebuſerie and muſketerie may be ſett in ſuch places as are fortified, can hardlie be quitted by the enimie, and in caſe the diſpoſition of the place be of ſuch ſorte, as he muſt be faine to looſe them, at the inſtant he will treat of the deliuerie of them vp, knowing if he be a ſouldior, that without them he can not be able to defend the entrie.

Forme of bridges,

It

It is likewiſe to be conſidered that whē the diches where the batterie is made, holde much water, it is not onely verie perillous to throwe in the bridges, but moſt daungerous to giue the aſſalte on that parte, becauſe that the depth of the diche ſwalloweth vp the ruine of the batterie, in ſuch ſorte as the head of the bridge can haue no faſtening, or giue anie commoditie at all by this for the ſoldiors at the aſſalte to be able to finde anie place in the breach, where they may ioine togither to fight againſt thē within, wherby it is a very hard matter to be able to runne vp ſkattered, or to enter firſt in, if they within haue any courage at all to defende them ſelues, becauſe that the bredth of the bridges which are caſt in, are not capable aboue fiue ſouldiors to marche in front, and ſo fewe of the firſt come to fight, except they holde a place in the breach, for thoſe which followe them to doe as much: & ſo thoſe which ſtand vpon their defence within become more ſuperior, and holde greater aduantage, by the place which they occupie, and the ſoldiors which are to giue the aſſalte, goe cloſe togither on the bridge, being thicke vppon the bancke of the diche, ſeruing onely as a marke for thoſe vpon the walles to ſhoote at without being able to giue thē anie annoyance by fighting. Inconueniences which were verie fitt to be looked into before the putting in of the bridges for the aſſalte, or planting the batterie on that parte, *Y.H.* entring into conſideration thereof according to the intelligence and information which ſhalbe giuen vnto you of the depth of the diche.

The batterie being well viewed, and *Y.H.* reſolued to haue the aſſalte giuen, you are to giue order to ſuch nation, Captaines, and Campe maiſter as muſt be of the vanguarde, In which is to be conſidered, that it be recommended to ſuch leaders and ſouldiors as haue a deſire to fight, ſhewing their determination and courage, willing to enter into any daunger: to whō particular order muſt be giuen, that in clyming

Order for to giue an aſſalte.

vp

vp to the highe of the breach, they runne vp the wall, if the diſpoſition of the place will permitt it, which is that, that moſt aſſureth the entrie, and ſo likewiſe the reſt which are to followe the vanguard, all ſtanding armed in readines within the trenches.

In ſome aſſaltes the ſouldiors haue ben neceſſarilie faine to vſe ladders, which is a ſigne that the batterie is not good, and the generall enforced (coſt what coſt mought) to take the town, or retire him ſelfe from it, the which he muſt bee conſtrained to doe, attempting it with ſo great daunger for to auoyde a greater inconuenience, a matter which *Y. H.* muſt by all meanes ſeeke to ſhunne.

To withdrawe the men into the trenches, *Y. H.* is to commaund that the reſt of the Armie, as well cauallerie as fanterie, put them ſelues into battell, and ſquadrons within the markett place, with whom the Campe maiſter general is to be readie prepared, if the enimie ſhould come to combatt the quarters, which ought to ſtande well fortified, to ſtoppe him, and giue impediment to his attempt, and likewiſe to renforce the men, that by one or two wayes they may giue vpon him, and to refreſh them, if it be neceſſarie with ſome tierce, regiment, or collours, giuing them charge to attempt a freſhe: and in caſe that the beſieged putt backe the men from the aſſault, if they retire, it is eaſilie to be beleeued, that it will be done with diſorder and ſcattering, for that it is not poſſible they ſhould doe it otherwiſe, and if they within the towne with a new harte of grace, ſhould make anie ſalie out of the ſame breach, as hath bene ſometimes ſeene, you may not thinke to gather thoſe again togither which are retired to turne back to charge them, but to doe it with thoſe ſquadrons and men that remaine in the markett place: thinges which are preuented by keeping the reſt of the Armie in battaile.

Beſides, it is to be conſidered, that when the ſouldiours come

come to ſtande pike to pike, and at hande ſtroakes with the enimie, it may fall out that they can not enter, and ſo it is meete to holde the harquebuſerie and muſketerie in readines, wherwith to furniſhe a newe the trenches, to the ende that they may ſhoote liuelelie from thence, in caſe the men be commaunded to retire from the aſſalte, and in ſuch manor as the enimie doe not only not take vpon him to charge them, but that he be not ſo hardie as to diſcouer him ſelf.

Y.H. hauing theſe things in readines, and your men withdrawen in ſuch ſorte home to their trenches, & the reſt ſett in battaile, the generall & officers of the artillerie are to aduertiſe *Y.H.* euery moment of the eſtate of the breach, and which ſhalbe their laſt tyre, which the gunners terme cleaning and ſweeping of the breach, & what defenſes the enimie may haue made, to the end that *Y. H.* who are to be on horſe backe, and in ſuch a place, if it be poſſible, as you may diſcouer both batteries, ſhould make a ſigne at the inſtant when the laſt Cannon ſhould be ſhott of, as *Y.H.* to hold vp the ſame handquerchef at your armes ende, and when that can not be, then ſome trõpet to ſound which is wel known.

For to aſſalt the men goe in troupes, euerie one vſing diligence according to ſuch valor, boldnes, and experience of aſſaltes as he hath, and while they be cõming to clyme the breach, the ſmall pieces are to playe if there be anie, and the harquebuſerie haſtelie from the trenches, occupying the enimie ſo, as he diſcouer them not vntill they come pyke to pyke with him, and the ſoldiours to hande ſtrokes, and then to ceaſe ſhooting, and the generall of the Artillerie to keepe his pieces ſtill charged and appointed for what ſoeuer may fal out, ſhooting off if it be neceſſarie ſome times a thwarte in caſe the enimie in time of the aſſalte, chaunce to diſcouer him ſelfe, which ſometimes falleth out hauing kept him ſelf cloſe before, & being verie requiſite to ſhoote at the breach whereby the enimie vpon the ſouldiours retreat, not being

able to enter, may not diſcouer it ſelfe.

It falleth out while an aſſalte is in giuing, that not onely traueſſes be therein diſcouered, but fire giuen to ſome myne or mynes, wherby the entrie is made difficult, & the breach repayred in ſuch wiſe as though it appeared good, yet it is not. By this occaſion the ſoldiours are wonte ſometime to finde what hath endemnified them, and battering anew to giue the ſecond and third aſſalt: at other times they gett place in the breach walles or towres where to defend them ſelues couertlie, going before with *Hornilloes*, and mynes, if the ground by not holding water yeeld commoditie for it, a matter which is to be wrought with great induſtrie, taking firſt preciſelie the diſtance from whence they beginne the myne, to the place where they would come out, guyding by a compaſſe which point they are to followe, and to haue great quantitie of poſtes to propp them vp, doeing it with great ſecuritie, that the enimies may not perceyue them, nor finde whether they come to reſt: Becauſe otherwiſe they will remedie it by coũtermines, being verie neceſſarie whẽ the myne goeth farre forward, to hold ſo much better guard within it, that the enimies may not come to encounter thẽ, and if they finde a ſmall guarde or reſiſtance within it, they will eaſilie gaine it, and then will it bee a matter almoſt impoſſible for them without to recouer it, looſing all the time that they were a myning. And for that I will not be tedious I touche no further particularities in the maner of working them, be it vp hill or downe hill, or in a plane, nor in what ſorte they are to take meaſures, and myne a Wall or Tower which ſtandeth on a rocke: If with the mynes they runne ſo farre, as to come to fight in them, it ſhalbe fitt that *T.H.* recommend the doeing and guard thereof to ſoldiors of courage, for that it is one of the moſt daungerous fights which can be in a ſiege.

In al mines at the end of that there muſt bee a place made ether round or ſquare wher the barels of powder muſt be laid. In Engliſh wee haue no other name for them then ouens.

Manner how to ſap Walls.

In like ſorte they ſapp the walles, when they haue come

with

with trēches or traueſſes within the diche, or by ſome other meanes to the foote of them, the ſouldiors couering themſelues with blinders when they worke, which they couer with leather on the out ſide, thereby keeping them frō burning, being made of wood, if the beſieged chaunce to caſt anie fier vpon them. Some other times they put poſtes, digging vnder the foundations, and when they ſee that they onelie ſupporte the wall, they anoint them with tallow, and piche, that they may burn the better, putting pouder about them, and a quantitie of ſtrawe & wood, tō which they putt fier, when the men are readie to aſſalt vpon the falling of the wall, and ſo doe they giue order for putting fire to ſome myne or hornilloe, not to looſe occaſion.

So doe they vſe when as the rampires of the Bulwarkes, Caualiers, and Platformes, for the ſmall firmenes of earth within them are made with timber, to pull out ſuch timbers which they draw from a farre off with capſtones, tying gables vnto them, or other inſtruments which they call perpetuall windels, which wil hale vp anie neuer ſo great weight, with which the earth will moulder away, when the proppe is gone, and after this maner there are manie engines too tedious for me to recite to *Y. H.* which they vſe in ſieges, applying the vſe of them according as the ſtate of matters and qualitie of the work ſhall require, & ſometimes it hath ben, that they haue rayſed platformes and caualiers without, wherby to domnere ouer the walles and them within, getting by this meanes the places to be yeelded vp, and at other times they haue battered with balles of artificiall fieres, that entring within the fortification, they mought ſett all on fire being builded of timber and fagotts.

While the aſſalte or aſſaltes is in giuing, *Y. H.* is alwayes to be on horſbacke, looking vpon all that is done, to giue order for what ſhall be neceſſarie for thoſe which aſſalte, according as occaſion is offred, and if the towne be entred by

force then to giue the ſacke thereof to all the infanterie, reſeruing if they be chriſtians, the Churches, Monaſteries and things hallowed, and in ſome warres the men are helde for the beſt bootie, and in other their goods, and not their perſons, which muſt be put in execution according as *Y. H.* ſhal ordaine, whom it concerneth to giue lawe in this, whiche they tearme *Caſtrenſe*, and ſo to the generall when *Y. H.* is not in place by repreſenting your perſon, the like authoritie is giuen of lawgiuer.

The Caualerie not hauing had anie order to light for to aſſalt, is to haue no parte in the ſacke, and ſo no bootie at all to fall to a horſe mans ſhare, although he doe aſſalte a foot, except he doe it with leaue, which ſometimes is granted to thoſe which want horſes, hauing had their horſe ſlaine vnder them in the ſiege, which is ſo ordayned becauſe they ſhould not leaue their ſtandarts in the market place, moued therevnto thorough the couetouſnes of the ſacke.

As ſoone as the towne ſtandeth aſſured, *Y. H.* is to enter within it accompanied with your guarde and corte, or to ſende ſome heads of your Armie to keepe them from robbing of Churches, Monaſteries, nor thinges hallowed, and from offring anie force to thoſe which are within them, for that the houſe of God is alwayes to be franke and free, executing with all preciſenes, and exemplarie puniſhmēt ſuch ordonnances as ſhalbe made vpon it: and aſſoone as *Y. H.* ſhalbe entred within the towne, you are to goe to the principall Church to giue thankes vnto our Lo. for the victorie.

This done, the Campe maiſter generall viewed the town to giue order for the lodging of the men, which *Y. H.* is to command to enter in, when the daies and howers of ſacke are ended, in which is to be conſidered, that one nation enfect not them ſelues with an other, coming to blowes in reſpect of pendences, & queſtions, which may ariſe betweene one ſoldior and another about their booties: And ſuch as

haue

haue ſhewed them ſelues remarqueable in the aſſault, as wel ſouldiours as Alferezes, by putting firſt the coulers vppon the wall, you are to giue thankes vnto, advauncing them in the Acknowledgement of their valour, & that the reſt may ſee them preferred for it, then for ſuch pieces of Artillerie, ſortes of engines, fires, and qualitie of armes as they which were beſieged held, they are to be beſtowed vppon thoſe which firſt lighteth vpon them.

The Towne, ſuch Artillerie as is mounted, and the munitions, is to appertayne only to *Y. H.* ſuch as are vnmounted, in ſome Prouinces, to the generall of the Artillerie, & them that are broken by batterie, to the gunners, and the victualls which ſhalbe found in ſtore, to ſuch generall as *Y. H.* hath appointed for the enterpriſe.

Y. H. lodging of the armie within the town after it is gayned, ought to be according to the greatnes and commoditie thereof, and ſuch end as is helde in the warre, being the beſt if the enimie be not ſo puiſſant, as to be able to come to cõbat the quarters, to conſerue them, putting garriſon within the towne. Conſiderations for the rayſing of a ſiege.

In caſe any occaſion ſhould be to raiſe the ſiege, thorough mutinie of the ſoldiors, want of pay, vnſeaſonable weather, which vndoeth an armie, or thorough ſuſpicion of the enimies being renforced, and their owne fortes diminiſhed, or other conſiderations which may induce it, it is to be vnderſtood, that it be firſt done in retiring the artillerie and munitions, marching with that & the baggage according to ſuch newes as may be learned from the enimie, and this to bee done by leauing the rereguard renforced, to ſtop anie falie that the beſieged ſhould make to charge them, and in ſuch maner as they diſlodge not with confuſion & diſorder, making their retreat ſeeme a flight: and in all other thinges which they are to doe, it is to be noted, that ther be alwayes left to the front of the enimie in the rereguard ſquadrons of

cauallerie and fanterie, giuing hande one to the other if the field permit it, becauſe if there ſhould be only left either cauallerie or fanterie, the enimie which cõmeth with both to fight againſt them, hath greater advantage, and more eaſilie breaketh them, then when they find cauallerie to oppoſe againſt theirs, and by conſequence the infanterie marching in ſuch ſort as I haue rehearſed, according to the qualitie of the countrey, in one of thoſe maners aboue written.

Conſiderations vpon the enimies comming for rayſing of an armie.

I haue not preſcribed vnto *Y. H.* in caſe the enimie come with a powerfull armie to rayſe the ſiege, in what maner *Y. H.* is to gouerne your ſelf, for that it is neceſſarie to doe it, as the Captains & councelors which *Y. H.* holdeth about you ſhall think moſt conuenient, and according to the number of men in your armie, & ſtate in which it ſtandeth, chuſing vpon the conſideration of theſe things, whether it be better to attend him in the quarters, or leauing thẽ & the lodging to goe to cõbat him with the whole armie or parte therof, the reſt tarying vpon the guard of the trenches, artillerie, & quarters, or to reſolue to rayſe the ſiege altogither. Vpõ this occaſion it is to be conſidered, if the enimie be able to take lodging, wherby to hinder the victuals, or be ſo well aduantaged neare his own, as that he may batter the market place and ſquadrons, for that vpon any ſuch chaunce, it is not fitt to mainteine the ſiege, attẽding him in the quarters, nor yet to diuide the armie to fight with him, leauing part thereof for the guard, for that it is much better to ſeek him out with the whole armie, before he ſhalbe able to worke any of both effects, either to hinder the victuals, or batter the ſquadrons. Then gayning the battaile the town is gotten, & if it be loſt that part of the armie which is left vpon the trẽches & quarters ſtanding diuided, runneth the ſame fortune, and when the whole armie ſhalbe founde readie to fight, the victorie may very well be gayned thereby.

When *Y. H.* is reſolued to go to encampe with the enimie, ſeeking

ſeeking him out,and to giue the battaile, I wrote in cõmon of ſuch cõſiderations as are to be had in forming of the ſquadrons,and putting them in battaile,and ſeldome times men come to fight without hauing before made themſelues lodgings,and viewed the armies: of which newes is gotten by ſpies, & other intelligences, beſides thoſe which are ſent to learne,wherwith the Princes and generall Capteines advãtage themſelues,procuring to ſtand certified whether their campe be greater then the enimies, ſtanding ſuperior in cauallerie,or infanterie,or both, or contrariwiſe if there be an equalitie in both campes, and in the trayning of the ſouldiors,acquainting them ſelues preciſely with this,for that it is a verie harde matter to ouercome any Capteine, who well knoweth both his own forces and his enimies: particulars vpon which they are to found thẽ ſelues before they ioyne togither,and giue battaile, ruling them ſelues according as neceſſitie bindeth, to ſalue a greater incõuenience, conſidering when they ſtand vpon defence that a kingdome is not to be aduentured vpon one battaile,except it be vpon great aduantage of place,and in tarying vntil the enimie come to ſeek you out,ofwhich it is good to ſtand ſuſpitious,as a wiſe and watchfull ſoldior, which way he may doe damage, to preuent him,looking circumſpectly into all,but not with ſo great an aſſurance,as that though the cõtrarie Captain hold like partes,he could not erre, & chuſe the worſe of the two partes,eſteming it for the beſt: a thing which he would neuer doe if he were as certainlie acquainted with the ſtate of the enimies armie as his owne. Vpon this runneth the Caſtilian prouerb, *Si ſupieſſe la hueſte, que haze la hueſte, mal para la hueſte.* Hernan Nuno en el lib. de los refr. let. S.

When they encampe,they ſende ordinarilie, and in particular when they ſtand ſomwhat far diſtant, great troupes of cauallerie to view from one field to another, recommẽding the ſeruice to men of courage & valor, and herevpon they come

What order is held in encamping.

come to make skirmiſhes, which they terme Rencounters: In which the leader is to carrie him ſelfe when he meeteth with the enimie according to the countrey and men which he diſcouereth, and his own which he bringeth, & to marke whether a large retreat may be made or no, in caſe the enimie charge with furie, the corriers hauing on both ſides deſcried one another at an inſtant, and when the one hath any newes before hand or diſcouereth the other, they are wont to make ambuſhes, ſeruing their turne for this by villages, woods, and brakes, or other conuenient places, in which the curriers are to goe very circumſpectlie, & to take great heed not paſſing by any place of which any ſuſpitiō may be had without viewing it, ſending two or three ſouldiours to that purpoſe. When the Campes draw neare togither, and that there is place to view the lodgings, vigilant generals do ſeke to annoy the enimie by giuing him canviſadoes: an action wherein *Y. H.* is to giue care to the old Capteynes, enioying readilie the occaſion if it offer it ſelfe, that it may not be loſt by the enimies preuenting of the miſchiefe, which he may do in like actions by renforcing the guardes, fortifying the quarters or bettering the lodging, matters which ſoldiors of experience will foreſee, and the danger which is in a canviſadoe, which the yonger ſorte thorough the greedie coyle they make to fight, neuer dreame of, recōmending the execution therof to ſome ſoldior of experiēce, able to execute, and of great carefulnes, and of whom ſuch as goe with him to execute, may hold a good opinion, for that the good report, and fortune of a Leader is that which moſt quickneth and animateth ſoldiers, being fit to haue like partes in him, for that being an action to be done by night, it is ſeldome times preciſely lighted on, and they ſhall euer erre, except the ſouldiours holde good ſatisfaction of him which guydeth them.

Aduiſe for canviſadoes

What partes are to be in the leader of a Canviſadoe,

Iointlie it is to be conſidered that no canviſadoe be made

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on that parte where the enimie holdeth his markett place, becauſe vpon anie alarum giuen within his quarters, all his men doe neceſſarilie repaire thither: and thereby keepe all helpe from thoſe which giue the canviſadoe vpon their retreat, the enimies ſquadrons ſtāding in the place wher they entred, and for to ſalie out by anie other parte, the heades which lead thē, had need be verie well acquainted with the ſcituation, and to hold the quarters well viewed (which can hardlie be done) wher the men are to enter, for that the harquebuſerie and holbardes are to be diuided in troupes, particular leaders guiding them, that they may diſperſe themſelues among the quarters, keeping with them the head of the canviſadoe, trumpet or drumme, wherwith they are to giue ſigne of the retreat, to the ende that all hearing it, may repayre to the place appointed, where they are to ſalie out, in which they ought to finde ſupply and helpe to ſuccour them, repreſſing the enimie if he charge them in groſſe, hauing before ſhewed the ſcituatiō in what part thoſe men are to ſtand which come for the relief of thoſe of the cāviſadoe.

Armies were wont to neighbour togither in lodgings verie neare, for the deſire which both parties had to fight, or by the ones procuring to cut of victuals from the other, or hindering him by being ſo neare that he vndertake not to giue vpon any place, which he might take in few dayes, ſetting foot within the Prouince, the countrie yeelding commoditie for him to doe it, and to get newe ſupplies. In lodging in this neighbourhood, by that which I haue written, or ſome other occaſions, it is to be noted, that as oftē as two armies ſtand very neare encamped togither, that which diſlodgeth firſt doth it with great diſadvantage, for the aduantage which he giueth to the enimie, remouing with the trouble of his whole armie, and the contrarie able to fight with him without any at all, and for this cauſe diuers Capteins haue vſed, ſeeing them ſelues ſo neare neighbours to

Conſideration in the near neighbourhood of armies.

the enimie, & that of force they muſt be fayne to diſlodge, great ſtratagemes and deuizes to doe it without their perceiuing therof: the which ſheweth the perill that is, & how much it is to be conſidered that they be not to neare neighbours to the enimie, except they be ſure of victualls, and of the ſcituation, & vnderſtande that the enimie holdeth it for better to leaue his aduenturing the daunger of diſlodging, then to fight with the contrarie.

Conſiderations for a day of battayle.

The day of battaile preſenting it ſelfe, which muſt be as *Y. H.* perceiueth the ſtomack and gallantnes of your armie for to fight, and when not to excuſe it, for that it is not to be giuen, except neceſſitie preſſe it, or good occaſion call for it. *Y. H.* is to note, that many leaders of the armies ſeek by their good wills to fight only to aduantage them ſelues, but *Y. H.* muſt procure the gayning thereof, without leauing them to be caried with their owne imaginations, when they holde no ſtronger a foundation of diſcretion and wiſedome, then onely a litle foolehardines.

It is likewiſe to be conſidered vpon like dayes, whither the countrey be open where they are to fight, field champion, or full of valleys & mountaines, what men the enimie bringeth, and number of ſquadrons, which the curriers haue diſcouered, & compoſition of the battaile, whether in one front or in forme of a halfe moone, or with a vanguarde bataile or rereguarde, or if the firſt of ſquadrons bee followed with another equall vnto it, to ſuccour it. And when the campes are equall, *Y. H.* muſt diuide your ſquadrons into iumpe as many, as the enimies, the old ſoldiors which haue ben moſt exerciſed in the warre fronting the enimies, and ſtrong men as well on horſe as foote: whereof aduyſe is to be taken according to reaſon, & the number of the enimies ſquadrons, by the ſpies, & ſuch intelligences as may be gotten by roades & ſkirmiſhes, which are to be done with this intent onely, and that the qualitie of thoſe men which the

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enimie moſt accompteth of, and relyeth vpon for ſupplye may be diſcouered: and ſo the confidence of his armie, entertainment of payes, and victualls, to be able to mainteyne it, and the ſcituation which he occupieth, whether he purpoſeth to fight in that, or come out and ſeeke the other: aduertiſements which will giue great light, if queſtion bee of hauing a day of batayle, to the differring or not of the iourney, and to ſhewe in what time it wilbe moſt conuenient to offer it.

At the day that battaile is preſented, the weather is to be conſidered, and at what hower the fight beginneth, & whether it be helping them ſelues with their artillerie, drawing it into a good place, the number of troupes and ſquadrons which muſter, & whether they be ſo many as may embrace the enimies battaile by girding it in whether the ſunne and winde be in their faces, matters which mẽ in old time highlie regarded vpon a day of battaile, for that the ſunne offended the ſight, and likewiſe the ayre if it came with whiſking bluſters or duſte, and whẽ not to giue them breath to fight: Particulars which are not of ſo great moment at this day in land battailes, but very much in getting the winde for thoſe at ſea: and albeit that the ſunne commeth ſometime, by ſhining on the harquebuſe barrell, to dazell the raking of leuel, yet with a litle ſpitle & powder rubbed ouer it, it will keepe it from by reflexing, to annoy the ſight.

The reaſon why men of olde time made ſo great accompt of the winde and ſunne, was for that their battailes endured longe, and ſtoode vpon the ſtrenght of their armes, but at this day, of verie ſhort durance, thorough the violence and dexteritie of the cauallerie, vivacitie of the harquebuſerie, and helped with the furie of the artillerie.

Why men in olde tyme made ſo great accompt of the ſunne vpon dayes of battaile.

As well is it to be conſidered in what manner the enimie beginneth to fight, whether it be by haſtening to much his charges for to come to the chock, or prolõging the ſkirmiſh

for to ſeeke a good occaſion, according to the motiue hee hath, if in ſeeing his men timerous, he may renforce them, engroſſing the ſkirmiſh ouer much, that he ſuffer not his mẽ to looſe courage, or after a charge retire backe through the confidence of the helpe of his ſquadrons, in ſuch ſorte as he may execute (if it be done with agilitie and good order) his purpoſe, and keepe thoſe which he charged, from turninge backe againe, if being inferior in cauallerie, he putt them in ſuch place as they may flye, rũning away vpon the enimies charge, and aftewards to fight equallie infanterie with infanterie.

Generall notes for like dayes of battaile in which it is vnpoſſible for a ſoldior to deſcribe vnto *Y. H.* all the circũſtances as a player at cheſſe, albeit the ſortes of draughtes be verie many, can not aunſwere any that ſhall aſke him for to learne, which is the beſt, further then to giue the mate, and not being able to doe that, to take the fierce, or ſome other peace, and finally to keepe the gaine with good aduantage, but putting the boorde with the cheſſe-mẽ ſett before him, in diſpoſing them he may play many good draughts, when in the end with onlie putting forward of one pawne he ſhal marre all. The like falleth out in warre, & the beſt is to win, and when a ſquadron or parte of the armie can not be broken, then to ſtande to be ſuperior, or with aduantage knowing the ſcituation, and which way the rather to proffit himſelfe according to the demonſtration of the enimie, to ordeine a ſquadron to advantage it ſelfe, with cauallerie or infanterie, or winges of harquebuſerie, to ſeeke out the flanke of another, or to get ſome high banke, or ditch, or piece of a wood, places by which the enimie may be made to looſe what he holdeth, giuing occaſion to charge them, or breake them: a part which a generall cã hardlie play by imaginatiõ, except the preſence of the occaſion preſente it ſelfe, as in many other things, neither am I able to ſignifie vnto *Y. H.*

more

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Among other in my iudgment, is the furie of the powder to be conſidered to be ſo great at this day, helped with the inſtrumẽts of artillerie, muſkets & harquebuſes, as not only it cõmeth to breake, as in times paſt did, throwing weapons, *fallanges and legions, before comming to handſtrokes, but diſordereth and openeth ſquadrons & battallons, defeating them, and ſo the greateſt parte of victories which is gayned at this time, is by hauing obteyned them with artillerie or readines of harquebuſerie by their liuelie voleyes, diſorderinge the ſquadrons of the enimie in ſuch manner as they put them in rowte, and defeating them, without euer ſeeing or afronting them, except ſeldome-times the ſquadrons of pikes.

Conſiderations of importance in fight.

This is deriued frõ *Phalana*, a *Macedonian* legiõ, or company of 800. as *Caterua* is vſed for a legion amonge the old Gaules: and *legio* is a companyof choſen ſoldiours, the nũber varied in times.

For this cauſe it is a matter much growne in diſputation, in what place the artillerie ſhould be caryed vpon a day of iorney, one being of opinion that it go before all the ſquadrons, to offend the enimie farre of, diſcharging ſtronger, & by this meanes the ſquadrõs to be in no danger remayning behind, which are ſtill to open and ſhut as the artillerie paſſeth, where cannot be any profit at all. Some are of opinion that the beſt place to put the artillerie is in the voyde places of the ſquadrons, without tying them to open at the chock, a matter which is the beginning of diſordering themſelues, although they knowe what they muſt doe.

Opinions wher the artilterie is to be placed vpon a dayof battayle.

Thoſe that are of other opinion, hold for the beſt place to carry it at the ſides of the armie, & ſquadrons, fortifying by this manner of defence the flankers, or placing it on the right or lefte ſide, as ſhall giue moſt aduantage being the moſt conuenient that may bee to chooſe a moſt aduantageous ſcituation for the artillerie, and ſo eminent, as it may be able to diſcharge as ſoone as they diſcouer the ſquadrons of the enimie, diſpoſing the harquebuſerie and muſketerie of the wings in places where they may play with moſt ſecuri-

for to ſeeke a good occaſion, according to the motiue hee hath, if in ſeeing his men timerous, he may renforce them, engroſſing the ſkirmiſh ouer much, that he ſuffer not his mẽ to looſe courage, or after a charge retire backe through the confidence of the helpe of his ſquadrons, in ſuch ſorte as he may execute (if it be done with agilitie and good order) his purpoſe, and keepe thoſe which he charged, from turninge backe againe, if being inferior in cauallerie, he putt them in ſuch place as they may flye, rũning away vpon the enimies charge, and aftewards to fight equallie infanterie with infanterie.

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Conſiderations of importance in fight.

This is deriued frõ *Phalanx*, a *Macedonian* legiõ, or company of 800. as *Caterua* is vſed for a legion amonge the old Gaules: and *legio* is a companyof choſen ſoldiours, the nũber varied in times.

For this cauſe it is a matter much growne in diſputation, in what place the artillerie ſhould be caryed vpon a day of iorney, one being of opinion that it go before all the ſquadrons, to offend the enimie farre of, diſcharging ſtronger, & by this meanes the ſquadrõs to be in no danger remayning behind, which are ſtill to open and ſhut as the artillerie paſſeth, where cannot be any profit at all. Some are of opinion that the beſt place to put the artillerie is in the voyde places of the ſquadrons, without tying them to open at the chock, a matter which is the beginning of diſordering themſelues, although they knowe what they muſt doe.

Opinions wher the artilterie is to be placed vpon a dayof battayle.

Thoſe that are of other opinion, hold for the beſt place to carry it at the ſides of the armie, & ſquadrons, fortifying by this manner of defence the flankers, or placing it on the right or lefte ſide, as ſhall giue moſt aduantage being the moſt conuenient that may bee to chooſe a moſt aduantageous ſcituation for the artillerie, and ſo eminent, as it may be able to diſcharge as ſoone as they diſcouer the ſquadrons of the enimie, diſpoſing the harquebuſerie and muſketerie of the wings in places where they may play with moſt ſecuri-

tie, by the qualitie of them, or defence of the cauallerie and ſquadrons, where by they come to obteyne a great effect, which is to be able to iudge, almoſt with a cõtinual motion, if the harquebuſerie be ſkilfull, offending the enimie.

Smal wings of harquebuſry, more cõmodious in fight thẽ great,

Theſe wings of harquebuſerie or muſketerie, although it is the cuſtome to compoũd them of three hundred ſoldiers, I hold better to diuide into ſmaller bodies, for that they may be able if occaſiõ require the vniting of thẽſelues in one, to doe it alwayes with facilitie, & when they are ſmall by ſtanding diuided, they be much better able to fight with them, Captains of experience guyding them: eſpecially if the ſoldiers be exerciſed in ſuch maner, as if occaſion require the firſt rankes may kneele vpon the ground to ſhoot off, diſcouering thereby a blanke to thoſe which ſtand behinde to make a good marke diſcharging their voley at one inſtant.

In making the wings litle, another effect is gotten, which is whẽ they entertayne a ſkirmiſh with them, mainteyning it with the end to ſee the enimies diſpoſition, that then the harquebuſes waxe whot, & many times the ſoldiors powder is done, & not being able to chooſe with their ſwords they are enforced to begge more with great gabling, and not fit that the enimie ſhould vnderſtand it, and by being few they retyre eaſilie to fetch it, refreſhing them with other, without any confuſion at all in diuiding it out of the barrells, which many times through the haſte which is made, are ſet on fire and ſo the ſoldiors left cleane without powder, which the enimie perceyuing is the more animated to the cloze, and I haue bene my ſelf in a ſkirmiſh vpõ a day of battayle, when it hath bene verie avaylable to knowe this, by the fire and crake which the barrel gaue.

Aduiſe of importance

Iointlie there muſt be a ſpeciall care taken in viewing by experience, & the eye of a ſoldior, the ſcituation which the enimie occupyeth, and on what part by reaſon he is likelieſt to plant his artillerie, for that it is not fit to ſet the ſquadrons

of

of cauallerie vpon any ground ſubiect to be battered, nor to be hurt with the furie of the enimies harquebuſerie or muſketerie: becauſe albeit in warre artillerie ſlayeth feweſt, yet the furie therof frighteth moſt, and ſeldomtimes can a ſquadron of cauallerie keepe his ſcituation, if golpes of artillerie light thicke within it, or that the enimies harquebuſerie aſſalt it, cauſing it this miſchief, to be faine to take one of the two parties, which is to retire themſelues, a demonſtration which vpon like dayes putteth great courage into the enimie, cauſing great cõfuſion among their owne, and though ſuch a ſquadron doth not charge without time, nor order, moued therevnto by being ill able to reſiſte their blowes, & eſteeming it for leſſe inconuenience to mingle themſelues amongſt thoſe which giue them, yet commeth it ordinarily to be done with great diſaduantage: and notwithſtanding that it hath ſometimes fallen out to be no impediment at all to the gayning of the victorie, yet grew it more by chaunce, then reaſon, through the raſhnes of the ſoldiors, & not wiſedome of the general: who is to ſeeke to forbeare it, and likewiſe not to fight with men tyred, vnable to carrie them with ſpeede vnto it, which waxe breathles, the pikes not being able then to be held with ſtrength, nor the harquebuſerie to ſhoote with aſſurance, nor the cauallery to moue with force and dexteritie, and all for want of breath.

It is likewiſe to be conſidered, that if neceſſitie doe not force vnto it, the fight bee not begonne by engaging all the ſquadrons, in ſuch manner as when the victorie is gotten, they cãnot enioy the fruit therof, for the great loſſe of many men: which bindeth a man to ſeeke to giue battaile with a foote of led, diſcouering the intente of his enimie, and demonſtration which he maketh to followe one motiue from another, opening the dore for a new and different ſucceſſe: and in any matter els what ſoeuer *Y. H.* & he which gouerneth, is to ſhewe a ſoundnes, which the phiſitians ſay that good

good complectioned bodies holde, no whit altering themſelues for ouermuch cold or heate: the very ſame being fitt to be in the minde of a ſoldior, not to diſorder himſelf vpon any good ſucceſſe, nor yet to grow coward vpon any euill, but that his courage appeare in the verie middeſt of his aduerſitie.

I haue ſet no place downe for *Y.H.* guydon, & ſquadron of your cõrte, to ſtand in vpon a day of bataile, becauſe that muſt fall out, as the reaſon of warr cauſeth *Y.H.* to fight, not being poſſible to appoint it, without knowing the ſcituatiõ where the fight is made, and forme of battaile in which the armie is to be put, wherin you muſt reſolue to appoint ſuch place as may be moſt conuenient for ſuch a ſquadron, prouided that in the choſe therof, it bee done in ſuch parte, as *Y.H.* may commaũd and gouerne with moſt eaſe the whole bodie of the armie, and partes thereof, without engaging to fight with your owne ſtandart, except it bee vpon the laſt brunt, becauſe if you ſhould otherwiſe doe, it were impoſſible for you to gouerne, which is that which toucheth a Prince: And albeit this which I wright, is the manner of warre, many Princes and generalls, after hauing appointed out a place for the ſquadrõ of their courte, ſetting their ſtandart therein, haue notwithſtanding left it, going to view the reſt of the ſquadrons, to ſee if they kept well the orders ſett downe, and determination which the ſoldiours and heades of ſquadrons helde, ſpeaking vnto them, & prouiding likewiſe other new, if neceſſitie ſhould ſo require, which is that which giueth law, not onely in matters of warre, but in all the reſte of this life, and hath made Princes and Generalls to fight in their own perſon, vpon ſuch ground as they leaſt thought of, not to looſe opportunitie, and according to other conſiderations which are wont to occurre, as the motiue which the enimie, and your own armie maketh, which is vnpoſſible to put in writinge, except a man were preſent to ſee the occaſion.

If

If the enimie haue ſuch ſtore or men, as that he thinketh with them to be able to guirde in the battaile of his cõtrarie, and that the ſcituation be vpon a plane, where nature doeth not fortifie it, without ſome flanke of the armie or ſquadrons, it is to be looked into, whether the enimies infanterie be ſo many in number as to be able to do it, or only the multitude of horſe braſing in of the armie. In reſpect of theſe two things it is verie good aduiſe to garniſh the flanks of the campe with the cartes of bagage, if there be anie, which may ſerue for trẽches, & when there is none, nor place of aduantage, that may be picked out, the artillerie muſt be putt alongeſt the flankes of the ſquadrons, to the end they may play a ſlante vpon the enimie, with more hurt, making a greater front, to be able to better them ſelues with their owne ſquadrons, binding the enimie by this meanes whẽ he carrieth an intent to compaſſe in the battaile of the contrarie parte, to ſpredd him ſelfe verie much to effect it: and to come neare to the cloſe, he muſt be fayne to goe ſtreightning in by little and litle the ſquadrons, and drawing the front cloſe togither. Whereby time may be taken to giue more voleys of artillerie & muſketrie vpon the enimie, before clozing and cõming to hand ſtrokes, which is that only, which an armie that ſtãdeth in a troubleſome ſtate, is able to helpe himſelf with to advantage his owne ſtrength, being otherwiſe with ſo great an vnequalitie leſſe in nũber.

Forme of fight when there is feare that the enimie may girde in the battaile.

Vpon dayes of battaile, when there be men of diuers nations in the armie, and not of the ſame faſhion of garments, by being free and ſeruing ſundrie Princes, beſides a commandement of carying ſkarfes of diuers colours to be knowne by (a matter which is not done with preciſenes) to preuent that friends offend not one another, at the time of the ſkirmiſh, a word is to be giuen in publike to all the ſquadrons, by which they may be able to diſtinguiſh themſelues from the enimie, and knowe one another.

If the enimie waxing weake in the ſkirmiſhe, ye perceyue

Demonſtrations which ſquadrons are wont to make vpon a day of battaile.

that in anie of his ſquadrons they departe from the harquebuſerie with which they were fortified, or emptie the depth, by the ſoldiers retiring from the laſt ranks, the pykes to croſſe one another, and the colours to moue with diſorder, and that ſuch a ſquadron of cauallerie or fanterie goe on ſuch parte, as it can not be able to yeeld any helpe to the reſte, or be relieued by them, albeit that euerie one of theſe demonſtrations ſhewe the ſmall ſtrength and courage they haue to keepe the place, giuing occaſion thereby to charge them, yet muſt you doe it with the looſe men that goe in the ſkirmiſhe, aſſiſted with ſome good ſquadrō of cauallerie, the reſt bettering thēſelues at the ſame inſtant: a motiue which will diſcouer the enimie and his weaknes with the demonſtration before ſaid: which although it put him in route, yet is it not to be followed by any way, diſordering the principall ſquadrons of the battayle, for that were to venter it, not hauing bodyes readie formed to followe the purſuite in ſuch manner as the enimie might be kept from renewing him ſelf therein. For that an armie cannot be ſaid to be vanquiſhed and defeated, vntil all the ſquadrons come to be diſordered, leaſt forming them ſelues of newe, they may comē to holde their former vigour. Which bindeth not to vndoe your own ſquadrons, vpō any demōſtration of good ſucceſſe, the heads which take charge thereof vſing great diligence, and care therein, and vpon any appearance of harme, all the ſtrēgth they can, that they diſorder not them ſelues, opening the way to bee put in route: a point in which the ſafetie of courage and ſoundnes of a Generall is of great importance, conſidering thereby the proceding of the enimie without euer altering in charging of him, or drawing togither to reſiſte him, ordeyning that the ſquadrons of the fanterie, bettering of them ſelues, be done with a leaden foote, and the cauallerie charge them with the raynes in hande, for that in no one thing of this life, is there ſeene a greater change of fortune then in matters of warre, where a com-

commandement ill vnderſtood, or ordinance ill executed, a raſhenes without order, a light voyce, or a falſe fancie, may cauſe thoſe to recouer the victorie, which were before helde for loſte.

What a Prince is to doe after a battaile gayned.

Y. H. hauing gained the battaile, is inſtantlie to giue thanks to our Lord, for ſuch a benefit receyued, and to honor ſuch as liue, who haue ſerued you therein with their ſtrength and ſtoutnes, and thoſe that are dead with their boldnes & valor, whom you are to burie with all honor and ſolemnitie, rewarding their ſonnes, & heires, according to the qualitie of their ſeruice done, ſhewing a feeling that Y. H. hath had a loſſe, by the miſcarrying of any head of the armie, when he was a perſon of valour, and experience, for that it is one of the greateſt loſſes that can fall to a King or Prince, to whom GOD hath giuen meanes to be able to make men ritche, & to be followed, but not to be wiſe and experienced in warre, except hee haue framed the courſe of his life to follow it, & had the fortune to ſee many faſhions in it, which is the thing of greateſt aduantage for a man to better him ſelfe by in an armie.

Men in auncient time, neuer eſteemed battayles after they were ſummoned to be gayned, except the conquerour held him ſelfe three dayes in the lodging, giuing therby to vnderſtande that the field remayned for them, and that the enimie was ouercome: a matter not greatlie regarded now, holding it for a battaile when all the enimies ſquadrons are broken, & that no one remayneth entire, gayning therein the artillerie and colours, and when any ſquadron is left entyre, although ſome artillerie & enſignes be gottē, it is called a route, a name which is vſed this day, as well when they kill and breake anie great number of men, although they carie no artillerie nor many colours or enſignes. The artillerie & munitions which are gotten, muſt be to Y. H. and the colours and enſignes, the Generalls, giuing tenne crownes to the ſouldiour that got it, when he bringeth it.

According to mans iudgement, it can not bee probablie thought, that euer *T.H.* will come to bee beſieged, being a Prince ſo powerfull, for that it is a chaſtiſement to thoſe whiche are, wherewith our Lord afflicteth Kinges, when by his ſecrete iudgments he will wrap them in all ſortes of miſeries, but it may ſo fall out as ſome generall of *T. H.* may looſe a batayle, and by gathering togither the reliques thereof, which is that which muſt be done as ſoone as they ſee the principal ſquadrons routed, to ſaue one, and when not, to geather the more parte of the ſoldiours routed, making one body, wherwith to be able to defende the reſte which come in from flying, and to hinder the enimie by this meanes, that he doe not followe the purſuite at his pleaſure.

Cauſes whiche may enforce a man to defende a place.

Euen ſo may it fall out that he may receiue ſo great a route, as that he be enforced, through the loſſe thereof, to quitt the fielde, putting in one or two places ſuch forces as are lefte him, to keepe the enimie from being maiſter of the fielde, or making a free progreſſe through the Kingdome or Prouince as he liſteth, bynding him not to leaue them behinde him, & in caſe he would haue them rendred, to reſolue to beſiege them, by this meanes when the miſchief exceedeth the forces, gayning of time the whilſte, that matters may chaunge therewith.

It may likewiſe bee that ſome Prince or Potentate, may breake into a warre againſt *T. H.* ſo ſodenlie, finding him ſelf armed, as that he will giue no time to compounde an armie, or to warre with him, ſeruing your turne vpon any ſuch occaſion beſt, by well furniſhing of places, in ſuch ſorte, as they may be able to endure a ſiege, giuing them in this time matter enough to occupie them ſelues, vntil you may be armed, and make front againſt the enimie.

Vpon theſe conſiderations, and ſuch as the chang of humane things doth cõmonly carry with it, it is verie probable that *T.H.* Capteins are to defend many places, and therfore I

am

am in reaſon to write among other actions in the warrs, after what manner a place is to be defended, being that which refineth a ſoldier, and ſerueth as a touchſtone ſhewing the quintecence of his valor and induſtrie, when he holdeth the parts of wiſedome and ſufferaunce in thoſe trauailes which daylie paſſe in a ſiege or encloſed ſtreight, caryinge them with ioyfulnes and content, which animateth the ſoldiers which are with him, to make them ſeeme not to be great, & cauſeth the fearfuller ſort to hold them for leſſe then the chaſtiſement of death, if they ſhould ſhewe their cowardiſe, much ſoundnes, and reſolution being very neceſſarie for this purpoſe. Beſides the head conſidereth better then any other thoſe inconueniences, which are to bee preuented by feeling them, and the weight which he carieth vpon his own ſhoulders. Particulars which naturally would cauſe men to bee diſcouraged in defending, by reaſon that they finde ordinarilie many neceſſarie things to want in ſieges & encloſed places, which ſhould mainteine them, if the honour of their owne perſon, & loyaltie ſworne to the ſeruice or their Prince, and to God, did not cauſe them to eſteeme little their owne life, rather then their honour ſhould be ſpotted in ſauing thereof.

What is to bee required in him which is to take charge of a place beſieged.

By this which I haue ſet downe *Y.H.* may iudge what perſons you are to chooſe to recommend the keeping of ſuch places vnto, as are to endure a ſiege not apperteyning to *Y.H.* nor to a Prince to mainteyne any and very ſeldom to a Capteine generall, but only to furniſh them with heades that are ſoldiers, and other neceſſaries to defend themſelues withall, being free to be able to be ſtill ſuccoured, and to oppoſe the enimie, according to ſuch ſtate, as they ſhall finde him in.

Conſideration for the furniſhing of a place with ſoldiors expectinge a ſiege.

The Capteine or head to whoſe hands *Y. H.* ſhall commit the keeping or defence of any place, ought to be couragious, wiſe, and a ſoldier of experience, and hauing neuer before bene in a place beſieged, it is meete that hee haue with him ſome leaders, or particular ſoldiors which haue bene: Iointlie

lie it is to be cõsidered, of what qualitie the soldiers be which are in the place, and with whom it is fit to furnish it, in case it be necessarie to haue it reinforced, and that they may not bee bysognes, and easie to mutinie. In this respect those nations which serue *T.H.* are to be thought vpon, & what profe any hath made in cõseruing of places, whether they be your own vassalls or no, and whether there be within the place any ordinarie soldiers of the same Prouince, strangers or other beinge all vassalls, what King he is, Prince or Potentate, or enimie whom suspition is had of, will besiege the place, particulars which being nicelie digested, will quicklie cause *T.H.* to resolue, whether the soldiors of the same Prouince ought to be all of one nation, or different, following the opinion and iudgment of such Capteins & coũsellours as *T.H.* shall hold about you, whose experience ought to know, what head or soldiors vpõ the present occasion shold be most auailable for the defence of the place, imagining that they may come to be besieged, if the enimie fight with gallantnes.

Consideration for the fortifying of places.

It is likewise to bee marked whether the place be fortified alreadie being a frontire, or had neede to be fortified anewe, & after what maner that must be, carying themselues in this according as the enimie giueth time for it, with ingenors and persons which knowe what fortification meaneth, for that it falleth out many times when one would fortifie a place, strengthning it by rauelin, cauallere and pincer or spurr, they make it weaker, becausse they vnderstand not their businesse, & so commeth it to serue for no defence, but rather to help the enimie to offend more. In this it must alwayes bee prouided to haue a place kept, where you may fight in squadron, and traueses, which is that by which batteries are best defended: for which cause in olde time they inuented round towers for it, and in these dayes, to shun the inconuenience of a circular forme, being notwithstanding a meanes to keepe them from being offended by direct line, from the flancks and traueses

where

wher the artillerie playeth, they haue formed great bulwarks to couer them in angular forme, giuing proportion from one bulwarke to an other, & that the traueſſe may come to faſten (as the ingenors terme it,) which is to haue the bullets light vpon the front of the bulwark, or part moſt conuenient, while the enimie doth batter, for that at this day they vſe not to batter the cortine betwene the two traveſſes, but only the frõt of the bulwarke, holding it for a more eaſie batterie, to quite one traues or caſamate, then both, eſpeciallie if there be any place or rome in them for a piece to batter, againſt which doe traueſſes hardlie reſiſt, although they goe by the diche, and for to preſerue theſe pieces (which while they are in being, and the traueſſes in life, maketh a good defence) they vſe to make the corners of their bulwarks ſo thick.

Iointlie it is to bee conſidered, that it is a moſt ſure rule in matter of fortificatiõ, that whatſoeuer is ſeene the defendant looſeth, by ſhooting of the artillerie in direct line as the ſight goeth, and if there muſt be fower men required to carrie one dead man out of his houſe, howe much more reaſon is it that there be as great a number or more to driue him being aliue from thence. Whereby it cannot bee imagined, that any will laye a ſiege, without being ſure to haue equall forces to them within, and likewiſe artillerie, and when the place ſerueth for it, and carieth meanes, thorough many bulwarkes, caualiers, and platformes, to put two or three counterbatteries to that which is planted, it may not be preſuppoſed that they can be able to kepe thẽ, ſince that he which beſiegeth, wil not in reaſon attẽpt the enterpriſe, except he hold forces proportionable to finiſh it, for that otherwiſe he ſhould enter into an aſſured miſchief without hope of any profit: It is likewiſe to bee looked vnto, that the fronts of the bulwarks may not lye ſubiect to be battered by the corteyne of any mountaine, or eminẽt place of ſcituatiõ, wher the enimie may plant his artillerie, the men not being able then to ſtand vpõ any defence & that

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the parapets may in no wiſe be broader thē a pike can couer.

Theſe which I haue touched vnto *Y. H.* are the foundations, & principall points to fortifie by, being no parte of my meaning to handle herewith the faſhion of the workes, or maner of the rampires, which be the better, nor other particularities, for that I ſhould run out too farre, and it were fit to ſhew the maner of fortification, euer with a compaſſe in the hand, and compoſition of lines, which is no worke for a blinde man, albeit for the time which I haue liued, I haue ſpent enough in learning the Theorique of fortification by the Mathematicques, to aſcerteine thereby, and with other grounds, what the experience in warre, and manage of the artillerie brought me to learne, knowing the reaſon for founding it, and fitnes of faſhion for the ſtockes, and carriges, the better to aſſure the hitting of the marke.

It is likewiſe to be conſidered, whether the place bee little or great, or haue manie neighbours neare it, accuſtoming to carie armes or to make guardes, or no, and what confidence you may haue of them to leaue it vnto them.

Beinge a frontire towne, or fortified, it ought in reaſon to haue ſoldiors to keepe it, & to haue out of thóſe offices of the artillerie which *Y. H.* ſhall hould in that Province or Kingedome, a liſte made of the armes that are in it, quality of pieces, and ſtocks, & carriges for them, bullets, powder, mache, lead, hanſpikes, timbers, mattocks, ſpades, & other munitions and furniture, apperteyning to the officers of the ſtate of the artillerie to haue a liſte alwayes of them, whereby may bee ſeene what is wanting, and neceſſarie to bee prouided, and with what diligence

Diuerſitie of victualls.

In ſuch like caſes of frontire and caſtells, where garriſons and ordinarie bandes reſide, there are to be houſes of munitions, & victualls: as powdred fleſh, fiſhe, meale, ſalt, grane, as peaſe, lentils, wine, vineger, oyle, and other prouiſions which are alwayes to be kept in ſtore for manie reſpects, and at their times

times to bee ſold and renewed, that they may not be marred without proffit. And with like conſideration muſt ſalpeter be kept, brimſtone and cole, to make powder and refine it, as alſo artificiall fieres, and wood, which in Caſtells, and little places when they are beſieged, there is great want of, not being ſo ſoone felt in great townes, for that vpon neceſſitie they pull downe houſes, for to burne their timber.

What a head is to doe at his firſt entrance into a place of defence.

Being a place, where no ordinarie garriſon hath bene vſually kept, it is meete that the head at his entraunce in, together with the men that are to guard, goe view the whole circuite therof both within and without, whether the diche be drye, or hold water in ſome parte or all, what faſhion the walles be of, for appointing of the ſtandes where the cordeguardes be to be ſett, and centinels by day and night, placing a cordegarde, two, or the moſt principall in the middeſt of the town or market place, to ſuccour the reſt, to appoint his rounds, overrounds, and conterrounds, increaſing & diminiſhing thē, as ieolouſie and ſuſpition ſhall growe of the enimie, without pointinge out to any nation, or colours, if it be poſſible to refraine it, eſpecially at the walls & gates wher no ſoldior is to know on what place he ſhal become cētinel, vntill his officer place him in his ſtande. And to this purpoſe, the colours whē the watch is ready to be ſet, vſe to caſt lotts, euery night when anie feare is, for ſuch place as they muſt ſtand in, without being aſſured of anie one, giuing order that the cordeguardes, through which the colours muſt paſſe, hold a good place, & litle watc'houſes, caſamates, and ſalies alongſt the dich, being drie, or with water, wher boates ſtand readie for thē, thereby preſerue* the *eſtrada cubierta* on the brim of the diche, and where dubble centinels are to be placed, and where ſingle, & whether in making the rounds it bee neceſſarie to carrie lanternes or no.

*We haue no other word in Engliſhe but as wee borowe of the Italians ſtrada coperta, which is a cloſe or couert walk to defende

The cordegards being appointed, and ſtandes for the centinells in places moſt conuenient, you muſt with great conſi-

men with a parapet, when they sallie out of a towne to fight with the enimie, it is made vpō the top of the counterscarpe, & is in good fortificatiō 20. foote broad at the leaste: the like counterscarpe haue I seene in the citadel of Anwarpe.

deration proportion out those men that are to doe it by day and night, helping your selues with assistaunce of the neighbours if you may repose any truste in them. And for this purpose must a liste be alwayes had in readines, of the number of the men, and persons able to beare armes. Likewise they doe shut some gates, walling them vp for the better assuraunce of the place, pulling downe such towers, walls, and other buildings, as cannot be defended, preuenting that the enimie occupie them not with the siege for the same respect, whē they feare that the batterie of any buyldinge, or tower will make any great ruine vpon the diche, by giuing any commoditie to the enimies purpose therby, they blow it vp with powder, or put proppes, digging vnder the foundations, where they would haue it to fal, a matter effected with great facilitie, putting fire to the timbers, and in these fortifications, as also in raysing of caualiers and rampires, the Gouernor of the place ought to be the first that taketh a basket in his hande, that by the ensample which he giueth, in seeing himselfe labour, the reste of the soldiers and neighbours of the place may doe it with a better will.

Besides they must pull downe the suburbs, and spoile the gardens round about, least the enimy reape any commoditie therby in finding them, & yet some times those of the countrey haue bene founde so affectionate to the seruice of their Prince, as it hath bene a meanes to keepe thē from receyuing this mischief, leauing vnto them their houses entire. And in case they stand about the diche, if the enimie chaunce to sease of them, by making loopholes in them, he wilbe able to kepe his ground almost as well, as they shall doe vpon the walles, without euer spending time in wotking of trenches, the houses by boring through the wals, seruing him to passe from one to another, which is done with great readines, and with the same they hang blinders of canuas, alongest the endes of the streetes, that the besieged may not discerne any marke to

shoot

ſhoot at while they fortifie thēſelues with diches & trauerſes, to hinder the ſalies out of the gates vpon the quarters: which they within are to aduenture to ſtop, if there be men ynough for it, burning the blinders, by putting after the harquebuſes are charged, ſcowring ſtickes within the barrel, and vpon the ramer, toe, & pyche, to which fire is to be giuen, diſcharging the harquebuſe ſtreight vpon the blinders, which the ſtick, ſo that it bee no great diſtaunce, will ſet on fire, and burne it: an effect which hath ben wrought with croſbowes and which I haue ſeene tryed, being preſent at a time when ſuch a remedie ſerued to very neceſſarie purpoſe.

Forme of fortifiing gates.

In caſe that any ſuſpition grow of the naturall borne of the countrey, fearing their ſmall fidelitie, it is a good meanes to haue the men of warre with ordinarie ſoldiors to ſeaſe vppon the towres of the gates, which ſerue moſt cōmodious for it, and to fortifie them the beſt they can aginſt thoſe of the coūtrey, putting ſome victuals and ſome munitions in them, and in this you muſt proceede with more or leſſe circumſpectiō, according as the ſoldiors are that keepe it, and qualitie of mē of the countrey, and diſpoſition of the gate.

Likewiſe whē you ſee ſmal ſtore of victuals to be in a place, and that you are enforced to mainteine it, you muſt preuent it in time, by putting out all ſuch as are vnprofitable people in a ſiege, as impotent men that are not able to beare armes, weomen, and children. Vpon like occaſions, fearing a ſiege, ſo many people may come to begge leaue to departe, and go away with their goods, as it is meete to be cōſidered of, whether it be to be graunted or no, or to leaue them and perſons of marke in the place, to fill vp the guarde with them, if the neighbours vſe to doe it, matters which are to be ordained as occaſion ſerueth, foreſeeing that the place be not diſpeopled by ſo many, as that the reſt ſhalbe thereby diſcouraged, who not knowing how to diſpoſe of them ſelues elſwhere, are cōtent to tarrie within. The colours in places of garriſons, doe

When the watch is to bee set in garrisons.

euer enter garde, if neceſſitie force no other matter, an houre before ſunne ſett, and vntill the gates be ſhut, which ought to be done in a good houre, the ſouldiors may not be permitted to diſarme, in which their Capteine, and Alferez are to giue good enſample vnto them.

A diuiſe touchinge the kepinge of the keyes of gates.

About the guarde of the keyes of the gates, are diuers cuſtomes, the Gouernours, Capteins, Iuſtices, or other perſons, whom it concerneth keeping them, & ſome times the cordeguards themſelues holde them, the Capteine taking charge thereof, not able to take them to goe open the gates without making the whole cordeguarde priuie, & ſo no preciſe order can be kept: Aſwell when neceſſitie requireth it, & that there is great cauſe of ſuſpition, two or three perſons pretending to keepe the keyes of the gates by their preheminence to doe it; it is held for the beſt, to put ſo many locks vpon the gates, as there are pretenders, & that theſe locks be ſtrengthened with a great bolte, or barre, which ſhall bolte them, with another locke & keye vnto that, which the principall head it to keepe, and to bee the firſt at the opening thereof: the reſt vſing the preheminence of their keyes after him, & this to be obſerued for great gates, and poſternes: and when it is feared that the men will attempt ſhamefullie to goe to kill the head, or force him to deliuer vp his principall keye, the beſt way in ſuch a caſe is, to giue it euery night ſecretlie to diuers perſons, wher by they can not reſolue determinatelie to procure it, becauſe they know not who hath it.

Much ſuſpition being had of the enimie, if the towne bee weake, almoſt all the men are to kepe guard anights, ſleeping vpon the walls, eſpecially if they feare any ſcale or ſurpriſe, & hauing any cauallerie of garriſon within it they appoint thé to make round on horſebacke a nights, and betwene the two gates or perculliſes are thoſe ſoldiors horſes, which are to be put without the town for centinells, if the wayes be fit for it, hauing made barriers, that in caſe any noyſe bee heard, they

may

may retire with ſecuritie, giuing intelligence therof, & when not, they put ſome of the foote bandes for forlorne centinels without the gates, to whō they giue, as I wrote before a different worde, very much therby aſſuring the guard of places in the night, and in Barbarie they kepe doggs without their fortreſſes, which winding any men, barke in ſuch ſort, as the centinels vpon the walls muſt needes heare it.

The forlorne centinell hearing any noyſe, is to bring newes thereof, to ſuch as ſtande vpon the gate or raueline next vnto it, for to giue alarome to the reſte, and that the Gouernor or Capteine may vnderſtand howe things paſſe. In many frontires or Caſtles where ſtreight watch is kept, they vſe to hang a bell ouer the gates, which ringing out vpon any aduertiſement, is aunſwered by the greater bell of the principall cordeguard, which hauing commoditie to doe it, is to be hanged on the higheſt tower, the which the reſt of the gates followe. Vpon this greater bell euery man is to arme, and as often as that ringeth, all the reſt are to anſwere, that they may be ſeene to ſtand watchfull vpon the ward, & if any bell chaunce not to aunſwere, ſtraight the head of the principall cordeguard, is to ſend to know the cauſe why it doth not, and when the bell of any gate ringeth, the Capteine which ſtandeth at the guarde, knoweth by that, on what parte the centinells finde the noyſe, for that all the bells are not to be touched one aunſwering another, except that of the principall cordeguarde haue firſt runge out: the which it is to doe at ſundrie howers of the night, by giuing eare vnto the reſt, two cētinels ſtāding alwayes at this bell. In this manner the night watch is continewed vntill day, without retyring the centinells, vntill they which ſtande vpon the higheſt tower make three toles vpon the bell, which is the token to ſhew that the daylight ſerueth to deſcrie from farre of, round about the town, and the guard withdraw from of the wals, & the reſt to, ſending the keyes of the poſternes, to take in the centinells of the raueines & caſe-

Forme of guarde in ſome place

Forme of openinge gates.

mates, turning to ſhut them, and to open the principall gates, but if any ſuburbs be near vnto it, caue, hole or place, where any men mought lye hid, then they vſe to ſend centinels out at the poſternes to view it, & ſtanding aſſured of no danger, they returne to giue intelligence to the Capteine, that he may open all the gates, the ſoldiers ſtandinge in order with their weapons in their handes, commanding the men of the town to goe forth without noyſe about their worke, & neceſſaries, and ſuch as come in from without, to doe the like.

Thoſe centinels of the tower, and principall cordeguard, which ſtand by day, ought to giue ſo many toles vpon the bell, as they deſcrie horſſemen, and paſſinge the number of fifteene, if any ſuſpition be of the enimie, or that they ſee many men, although on foote, they take the alarome, putting vp a ſmall enſigne in that tower, that by that it may be knowne on what parte of the town they are diſcouered: with which they ſhut faſt the gates, that ſtand at the guarde thereof.

This warning is in ſome places giuen by a trompet, and worketh the ſame effect, & ſo they make the centinels which ſtand vpon the gates, to vnderſtand that men are diſcouered from far, and they as they perceaue them from their ſtande, ſound the number of the horſe that goe by the way with as many more blaſtes to warne them that ſtande at the barres, & warde of the gates. In ſome place they ſhut them at dinner time, the centinels reſting in their ſtãdes, & ſeeing any cartes come into the towne, which cary any great lading, wherein men may lye, they are to be well viewed before any enter in, & when any riuers or chanels of water paſſe along the town, by which barks may come in frõ without, the grates or gates ar not to be opened before ſome ſoldier haue ſearched them: and being ladẽ with hay, ſtraw, wood, or any ſuch like things, or timber laide in order, they are to ſound it with halfe pikes, to bee ſure whether any men be therein or no, and not open the gates vntill that be done.

This diſcipline was ſcarſe grown Spaniſhe whẽ Bredah was won by a Turfe boate: yow doe well to take example thereby.

In

In this manner is the guard to be continewed in garrisons of townes where they liue with suspect, giuing it in writing to the Serieants maiors, that they may doe the like in their colours, and know the names of the gates, caualiers, stands, & cordeguards, wher they are to be kept, wherby after lots cast, euerie one may goe to his owne roome.

Orders being set downe for the guardes, the Gouernor or Capteine of the place is to take a view of all sortes of victuals, that are within it, distrusting a siege, as wheate, graine, salt-meates, wine, meale, salt, and to count according to number of men and soldiers within the town, how many dayes they may be able to mainteine with them: aduertising *Y.H.* therof, and what artillerie and armes are there, to the end that according to the listes you may cõmaunde they may be furnished, with what is conuenient, artillerie being one of the most necessarie thinges, with preparation and store of carriges and stockes, wheeles, & workmen to make newe, for them which are spent in a siege, repayring the touch-holes with time, if they be marred, and prouision of some small pieces, and muskets, with rests, which is a necessarie weapen to defend towns withall, for the easienes, with which they may be shot of, and hurt which they doe, holding conuenient munitions for all, as quãtitie of pikes, harquebuses, and other armes, and medicines for to cure weake, and hurte men.

I doe not write vnto *Y.H.* in particular, of the sortes of armes, and munitions, nor of the victuals, setting only down the strongest for the sustentation of mans life, for that it is vnpossible for any soldier how experienced so euer he be, to be able to mention all things that are necessarie for the maintenaunce of a siege, and albeit it be an ordinarie fashion among soldiours to amplifie what they thinke fit to defend withall, yet cannot the greatest soldior that is vpon earth, tell, though his King say vnto him, that he must defend such a place, and that he stand satisfied with the fortificatiõ therof, asking what

number

number of men for guard himſelf liſteth, artillery, munition, victuals, and all other things, which ſhalbe eſteemed neceſſarie; but when all is graunted vnto him, within three dayes being beſieged, he ſhall finde want of manie things, wherein he will blame himſelfe for not hauing aſked them, not being in his power to be able to diuine all: which ariſeth from hence, that no man can determinatlie imagine in what manner his enemie meaneth to offend him, nor what men, inſtruments, engines, and artillerie he will bring with him for it, and therfore it is vnpoſſible to foreſee all things, wherby to be able to reſiſte him, the which is confirmed, but with cõſidering how momentarilie a towne vſed to haue prouiſions euery day brough to it, feeleth the wante of them, if vpon vnſeaſonable weather, or any other reſpect, they leaue to come for two or three dayes, the people cõplayning of the trauaile they endure, being many times for things, which they leaſt thought, they ſhould ſtand in neede of.

What neceſſitie cauſeth to inuent.

This inconuenience commeth many times to be remedied, very neceſſitie ſharpening witts, by practiſing things for ſome effects, & inuenting of other which were neuer before imaginable: a particular which confirmeth ſuch inuentions as men haue helped themſelues withall in ſieges, when they finde themſelues ſtreightned, & in one of the three in which my ſelf was preſent, cõming in the end to be hardly ſtreightned, and to ſuffer great hunger, all meanes fayling vs to ſende any men out to deliuer our eſtate to the Kings miniſters, our Souereigne, for that the enimie had ſo ſeaſed the diches and gates, as none could goe foorth without falling into their handes, we deuiſed a riuer running croſſe the towne to ſende men in a barke a ſwimming, who paſſed alongeſt to the verie outmoſt parts of the enimie, making ſemblance of comming out for to ſwimme, hauing giuen vnto them, a little pellet of leade, in which was a ticket of paper writtẽ in cifer, carying the intelligence, and ſoldered cloſe vp, about the bignes of a

pill:

pill: the which they ſwallowed, paſſing freely with the ſame through the enimies, who did not only ſearch their apparell and ſhirtes, to ſee if they could finde any letter in them, or anie thing written in the linnen, but waſhed their ſhoulders, when they came a ſhore, to diſcouer whether any thing were written on them, a matter which ſometime falleth out: and in this maner we both gaue and receyued intelligence, by the care which the men them ſelues tooke of the pilles which they had ſwalowed: a piece of worke which ſeemed vnpoſſible vnto vs, before ſuch time as neceſſitie had made it eaſie. This ſame, and hunger cauſeth men to eate ſuch thinges, as would aſtoniſhe a man to heare them but named.

Before that the enimie diſcouer him ſelfe in planting his ſiege, or encloſing a Towne, they ought to marke well all the pieces therof, and on what parte in all reaſon he is to preſent him ſelf with his ſquadrons of cauallerie, playing vpon them, vſing for this purpoſe, whole and demy Coluerines, in the platformes and caualiers, being pieces which reach and carry furtheſt: and albeit they teare not ſo much as a cannon or demie cannon, yet are they verie profitable to defende places withall, and ſo are many light pieces, for that they are eaſilie caried to all partes, and brought back aſwell when they haue diſcharged: holding the places beſides well viewed, wher to place the harquebuſerie out of the *eſtrada cubierta*, if there be any vpon the banke of the diche, for to helpe the cauallerie, which ſhalbe in the towne, which is to ſalie out to viewe the enimie, & the leaders to aduertiſe the head, of the ſiege with what courage the enimie marcheth, & what quantitie of mẽ ſhalbe needful to be ſent in thoſe ſalies and other, for that the end of him which is beſieged is, to hinder any neighbouring vpon him, entertayning him as farre of as he can, for that hee which cõmeth to beſiege, is more powerfull, and to deferre this, there need not be ſo manie ſoldiers vẽtured in the ſalies, as that they ſhall come to wante for the defence of the walls,

Conſideratiõ to cauſe the beſieged to ſaly forth

which is that, where the laſte valour is to be vſed, & whether in the end all the beſieged come, a farre inferior number being able to fight with greater aduantage, and to holde manie men, is to conſerue a place, for that a wall of men is held for the beſt wall, & which is able to defend ſuch fortified places, as of them ſelues are not able to hold out, prolonging hereby time in defence: which commeth to be an occaſion, by that which many times falleth out in armies, and among Princes whoſe they are, that the place is ſtill mainteyned for him which firſt poſſeſſed it.

Conſideration in prolonging the defence of a towne.

It is to be vnderſtoode, that a man ſhould keepe a place, as long as poſſibly he may, & that not only for dayes & houres to doe it, is a matter of greateſt importance, but for the leaſt moment: being well knowne that when any King or Prince ſhall commaund a towne or forte to be yeelded vp, which anie Captaine or Caſtellane hath in charge, appointing him to doe it by a day, giuing him a counterſigne if he haue anie, that ſuch Captaine or Caſtellane is to delay it euen to the laſt of the foure and twētie houres of the day, which is preciſelie ſett downe vnto him, accompliſhing in this ſorte both his obedience towards his Prince, and his loyaltie vnſpotted, not yeelding the place vp one iott, before he be bound to doe it, nor falter one moment of time in his fidelitie of maintayning it, while it remayneth vnder his charge.

You muſt haue likewiſe ſet at the loope-holes harquebuſes a crocke and great muſkettes for reſtes, full leuell againſt the place where the enimie maketh demonſtration to plant his batterie, and to follow the trenches, which are to be diſcharged vpon ſight of the light of the lanternes, with which they ſometimes worke, and at other times at a venture, vppon the hearing of any noyſe, the fire of the harquebuſes, and pieces giuing light.

Aduiſe how to ſtop mutinies.

When men beſieged come once to be narrowlie ſtreightned, it falleth out that ſome wil ſhewe cowardiſe, which leaſt thought

thought therof: Theſe giue out ſpeches among the ſoldiors, relating the ſtate of the ſiege, and ſmal meanes of the defence thereof: for which they hold it a farre better way to take a cõpoſition then to periſh. To auoyde any ſuch prating, the beſt meanes the head of a ſiege can vſe, is to haue ſome ſoldiors of whoſe valour and proceeding he hath before made triall, and to diſperſe them into the cordeguardes & companies of the reſt, that by ſeeing their reſolution and conſtancie, and howe they are the firſt in putting hand to all perills and labours, the other may be animated to doe the like: and if any ſoldior wil ſhame him ſelf, ſtill continuing ſuch pratlinge, lett them be ſpeedily cut of, without ſuffering them to proceede further: and the better to animate the men within, the chieftaine him ſelfe muſt ordinarily viſit the cordeguardes and Centinells, ſhewing him ſelf affable towards all the ſoldiors, and giuing them good example, being him ſelfe the firſt at the fortifying of all defences, which will cauſe the ſoldiours to doe the reſt with much more will and readines: and in caſe any ſoldior be ſo much paſt ſhame, as that cowardiſe will make him vtter vnſeemlie wordes, tending to the rendring vp of the place, or entiſing and leading others to ioyne with him to aſke the ſame, he is to be puniſhed exemplarily, and that readily, without giuing time to haue the voyce runne further.

At the enimies working of his trenches, and planting of his batterie, it cannot be deliuered vnto *Y. H.* in what maner they muſt annoy him for that, beſides what I write of, that is to be done according as the diſpoſition of the diches, walls, & defenſes are, ſhooting ordinarelie from them at the Trenches, with harquebuſes and muſketts, & great vigilance to be vſed in diſcouering how the trenches runne, whether haſteninge the ſalies or no, carrying them ſelues according to the men they haue, & hope of hauing it ſuccoured. In ſome ſalies they vſe to plant the artillerie on that parte where the quarters are to charge, for to driue them which are beſieged back into the

towne,annoying them worſe thereby.

When the batterie is once begun,there muſt be very good watch both day and night kept on that part, renforcing it according to ſuch effect,as the enimies artillerie hath wrought, and with order that none ſpeak to any without, except he be commmanded. with the ſame circumſpection muſt no clock ſound,nor bell after that the towne is once beſieged, and at nights thoſe that are beſieged, ſticke in the batterie a pole of the length of half a pyke, and an yron,croſ barred at the ende therof,where they hang * rundells of ropes,ſoddē with pitch and tarre,which burneth giuing a very great flame,& ſerueth ſticking the pole without,to diſcouer whether they be come to the ditch,& view what hurt the batterie hath donn, and to be able to hit thē without,without the light cauſing any hurt to thoſe within in continuing of their reparations. And in townes where they feare any ſcale, by reaſon there be fewe ſoldiers,and no great confidence held of the place,it is a very good way ſtill to keepe theſe fiers on the towers of the walls, for to diſcouer the diches, which I haue tryed vpon like occaſion.

Aduiſe at the beginning of a batterie

* Theſe wee terme by the name of creſſet lightes.

The diches being dry,if the batterie continewe long,they goe out alonge the caſamats therof to viewe what ruyne and damage it hath done,making it cleane: other times they ſcatter pricks of yron in it before the aſſalt,& at other times for to hinder it,they lay wood ſetting it afterwards on fire: Things which tyeth him that beſiegeth, to haſten the working of his trenches,vntill he deſemboke out of the ditch,& quit the caſamats,and if it hold water to aſſure himſelf of the banke,that no barkes paſſe by him,being very deepe.

Iointly they make mynes to giue fire when the enimie aſſalteth them by the batterie, making it thereby the more hard, and thoſe without comming to worke, they put the rimme of dromes on the top of the defences,or in the countermines with little hawkes, bels, or beanes which ſturr vpon the ſkin of

Which way to diſcouer mynes.

of the rimme, by the trembling of the earth when the Pioners digge, wherby it is known which way they take.

The ſame effect is wrought by hanging at a rope, harde ſtretched needles, and putting vnder euery needle a Barbers baſon, that by their ſtirringe of the earth, which mine, the needle may ſound in the baſon, & ſometimes they fill baſons and little diſhes full of water, and by the mouing therof know which way they goe. It ſerueth euē as well to make a litle hole in the earth and ſtouping down, you ſhall finde the noyſe by your eare.

When they which beſiege come to goe with the mattocke, digging the foūdations of the walls or towers, the remedie is to ſet a good guard there, and to goe digging aſwell to ſeeke them out, to driue them from their grounde, and alwayes to repaire the batterie by the beſt meanes that you can. For this purpoſe ſackes of wooll (if there be anie) ſerue very well, and flocke beddes, as alſo cheſtes of wood filled with earth, or pipes, with wet ſtraw or hay mingled with earth, caſting featherbeddes into the one and the other, being a compounde which incorporateth verie well, treadding downe the earth, and when it is clammie, and not drye, the ſtrawe and haye is wrethed like halters, more then two handfulls broad, & they faſten them into the earth with yrons, as a man plāteth trees one neare vnto another. Wherewith they greatlie fortifie rampires, ſo that it be wrought ſometime before the batterie.

Remedie when they digge the wals.

Manner of reparations

Theſe things be the cōmon defences vſed, but when there is no matter to make them of, then muſt they be fayne to doe as neceſſitie requireth, & inventeth, taking ſuch to ſerue their turne, as they can finde. Likewiſe they doe laye tables thicke wrought with pikes of yron, like harrowes in the breache, againſt the aſſault, and they lett them downe for that purpoſe with engines made with wheeles, at ſuch time as the enimie aſſaulteth, hauing cheynes made of woode, which are faſtened, at the ſame inſtant, & at eaſe may be put to & takē away.

Some vſe them of yron alone, on the topp of the breach, and at the time of their aſſalte rayſe them vp with pulleys, and other engines, helping them ſelues with garlands and balles of wildefire, molten leade, ſcaulding oyle, and ſuch like: and in the ende they muſt be fayne to defend them ſelues, notwithſtanding that theſe and many other engins annoy the enimy much with the traueſſes and ſtrength of the pikes, on whom the foundation is to be builded, and to procure that the wall be alwayes mainteyned, (without giuing place to feare, who is a powerfull Lorde, as often as he findeth way giuen vnto him) for to forme behind that new ditches, defences, or halfe moones, which ſeldome times wilbe able to defend a town, if the wall thereof be loſte.

Aduertiſements for to preuent throwinge of brigges into the diche.

The ſtate of the batterie being viewed, and demõſtrations which the centinells diſcouer them without to make, for to giue the aſſault, by drawing togither more colours, thẽ they were wonte, to the trenches, being no hower of watche, nor out of order as they were wont to doe whẽ they would renforce thẽ, to enioy th'occaſiõ of ſome myne, or tower, which they are deſirous to holde, the chief of the ſiege ſtanding in the ditch, or ſome other place, is to marke whither the enimie, not being able to come to the breach without a bridge, haue the night before throwne it in, or that it be to doe. Becauſe that if it be made of barkes, and that it betokeneth good ſtore of water in the ditch, he muſt procure ſending ſome ſoldiors along the caſamates & ſalies, that they ſwimming, may ſinke them, making tronell holes in them, and being to bee throwne in before the aſſault, made of barrells, boates, or any other light ſtuffe, and with invention that the bridge holde a dore drawne vp, to ſerue for a defence to thoſe which throw it in, letting it afterwards fall downe, to make it the larger, thẽ muſt he haue in readines, good ſtore of fireworkes, whiche may flame in the verie water, and burn it, and in caſe that the bridge be couered with hides, therein they muſt helpe them

ſelues

ſelues with pieces from the traueſſes, if they haue bene able to preſerue them, for to break the bridge withall. And if they haue loſt them, then to put one, if it be poſſible, in the fronte, wherewith to doe the deed, and the bridge comming to the verie breache, to ſee if by caſting of great ſtones or pipes of them, lightning round about it, they may be able to ſplit and breake the bridge. Iointlie they are to furniſhe the breach, beſide the ordinarie guarde, with a number of ſoldiors and enſignes, which are to be picked out for the ſame purpoſe, renforcing the weakeſt part thereof with ſoldiors, of whoſe courage and reſolution good proofe hath bene made, the whole putting them ſelues with ſuch weapons as they are to fight withall, into a ſquadron, and vppon ſome occaſion they laye pikes alongeſt the groũd for ſuch as brought none, to be able to ſerue with them, neceſſitie binding them therevnto, as a weapon which is to be vſed euen to the verie laſt, againſt thẽ which aſſault.

This done, he muſt furniſh the reſt of the cordeguardes in ſuch maner as he held them before ordered, according to the qualitie of the towne, appointing a particular leader to euery one, in ſuch ſorte, as they may be at hande to helpe one another, and ſuccour thẽ ſelues, going, if it be poſſible, with their men in good order: and in the principall cordegarde of the market place, the men muſt be put into a ſquadrõ, as in all the reſt, where the head is to ſtand to prouide for what ſhould be moſt conuenient, and if the Towne be great, to be on horſebacke: viſiting the batterie, walls, and cordeguard, to animate them more, to doe their buſines with greater readines, executing in his owne perſon, what is conuenient, and in caſe that the defence of the place binde him to doe it, he ſhall doe well to take a pyke him ſelfe, and ſtande in the breache.

Likewiſe he is to diſpoſe of the weomen and men of the town, which doe not beare armes, aſwel near vnto the cordeguardes, as the breach, that they may caſt with ladles, and o-

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ther inſtrumẽts, ſcalding water, oyle, moltẽ lead, wildfires, & ſuch like, when their be anie to doe it, and when not, then to giue them to the ſoldiours, caſting downe great quantitie of ſtones, which if there be many in the town, and doe it with dexteritie is not the worſt defence, & in this, that the troupes of men and weomen may haue particular leaders to gouerne thẽ, ſo as no cõfuſion be made, in their ſeruice, nor diſorder.

Iointly the town being litle, and in danger of fire, for that the houſes are all builded of timber, they are to haue caudrõs in readines at the gates, and pipes full of water, and men appointed of purpoſe for to quench it, foreſeing that the enimie by intelligence had, nor any cowarde ſet them on fire at the time of the aſſaulte.

Whẽ they that are beſieged come to be narrowlie ſtreightned, it is a very hard caſe for thẽ which are within, to giue any intelligence of their eſtate, or of the qualitie of ſuccours, which is to be required. For this cauſe they preuent it in the beginning thereof, by agreeing vpon ſignes with fires in the night, & ſmoake in the day, or enſignes of ſundrie colours, & faſhions, to ſhew what they ſtand moſt in want of, or ſuccour they deſire: & they get from out of the countrey, ſwallowes, doues, and dogges, which naturallie returne to the place where they firſt bred, putting vnder the wings of the birdes, or tying to their feete, aduiſes, and in the collers of doggs put vp in a pellet of waxe, and in like ſorte they haue aduertiſed againe by theſe meanes & preuentions, thoſe within, at what time they ſhould bee ſuccoured, encouraging them to abide it out, vſing like meanes and induſtries.

For the moſt part townes come to be loſt thorough want of men, powder, artillerie, munition, and victuals, and if they which are beſieged make inſtance for any of theſe thinges, whẽ they come to want, aſſuring that the enimie muſt needs enter, if they be not ſuccoured, *Y.H.* is to conſider in aſſiſting of them, that the ſuccour of men is the moſt eaſie, for that in

Conſiderations in yelding ſupplies.

marching

marching they can defend themſelues, but powder alone can not, & there muſt be men to carrie that in wallets vpon their ſholders, or vpon the horſe buttockes, when it is moſt ſecure to carry any cauallerie. The ſuccours of artillerie, munitions and victualls bee very cumberſome, if they goe not by water (being then caried with eaſe) and of great danger thorough the toyle and trouble about them, beinge thinges of ſo great bulke, and when the ſupplie marcheth by land, they are enforced to haue a great quantitie of cartes, and horſe to carrie it, and much force and men to attende it: whereby when you are deſirous to ſupply any town with victuall, you muſt bee faine to make a whole iourney of it.

The armies being retyred for to winter, the hardnes of the time not yelding commoditie for to encampe, they put ſuch men as they diſmiſſe not, into holdes, and garriſons vpon the frontiers, aſwell to make them reſte from the wearines of the field, & refreſh themſelues, as that they may warr neare vnto the townes, wherin the Gouernors are not only to contente themſelues in keeping of them for a defenſiue warre, but to procure the endemnifying of the enimie, by as much as may be poſſible for them, weakning of his forces.

To this end they muſt be faine to help thẽſelues with ſuch maner of ſpies as according to the qualitie of the Prouince or countrey or peopling thereof, they ſhall iudge to be moſt conuenient, entertayning them, within the enimies towns & countreys, to be able to aduertiſe his deſſeine, if he aſſemble together his men, what ſtore hee hath vpon the frontires, the eſtate of his fortification, what maner of guarde hee keepeth both by day & night, whether they goe out ordinarily a free-boating or no, & ſuch other occurrents as they deſire to be reſolued of by ſpies, according as occaſions fal out, whom they muſt pay very well, giuing vnto them all ſatiſfaction, as long as no dubble dealing is diſcouered in them, or treacherie ſuſpected, and in ſmall time they ſhalbe able to iudge of thoſe which are faithfulleſt, and of beſt vnderſtanding.

What is to be conſidered in the matter of ſpies.

To looke deepely into this, beſides that they are to haue diuers ſpies cõparing their intelligences together, they muſt marke with great heed, in the circumſtances which they deliuer in telling their newes, how they haue come to vnderſtand them, and if they haue bene able, conformable to the qualitie of their eſtate, to communicate with ſuch perſons as they giue out to haue heard thẽ of, whether they be matters likely to paſſe thorough many handes or no, or whether vnderſtood by priuate conference. Becauſe that in war, by the outward preparations of men, artillerie, munition & victuals, ſuch as are ſoldiers wil moſt commonly diſcouer the end of the enterpriſe. And albeit that in frontires and places of moment they vſe to giue order vnto centinels, that they ſuffer no ſtrangers to walk vpõ the wals, nor ditches, nether within nor without, yet whoſoeuer will but ſet his minde to bee informed of like fortifications, although hee neuer before thought therof, ſhall alwayes finde meanes paying thoſe well that make him knowe what he deſireth, for that mony is the thing, which can doe moſt in generall with mankinde.

Either your ſpyes were not well paid, or fayled you in Cadiz action.

Likewiſe they doe ſuffer men vpon the frontires, to whom they giue no other pay then leaue to freeboate, and to liue in the town, bringing their booties to ſell thither, and theſe be commonlie men naturally borne of the ſame prouince, and by knowing the wayes and paſſages, annoy the enimie greatlie, taking priſoners by whom they come to vnderſtand many things: to this kinde of people they are to giue leaue to freeboote according to the qualitie of the warr, & proffit which may be reaped by their ſeruice.

Vpon ſome occaſions they ſpoyle and deſtroy the villages round about the town, if the inhabitants be not wel affected, to binde them, by hauing no houſes of their owne, to flie vnto the frontirs of their neighbours, and ſo the enimie findeth himſelf ouercharged by giuing victuals to them, their wyues and children. But when laborours and huſbandmen of the

Whẽ a cõtrey is to be diſpeopled.

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countrey round about, cannot bee diſpeopled for ſome reaſons, and are contented to victuall the townes with the fruits of their labours, it is to be conſidered that all contentment be giuen vnto them, and that the ſoldiors when they ſalie a freebooting out of the towne, doe not miſuſe them, for that by this they will bee able to giue good intelligence, and to prie with great care into the enimies actions, imagining that by his endemnifying their owne profit will ariſe.

For to know and view the field round about, the enimies frontires, ordinarilie they ſend ſoldiors to freebote vpon thē, for the firſt dayes carrying good guides alongeſt with them, whereby they come to be well practiſed in the wayes & paſſages, and to conſider the eſtate of the field, to ſee, if cōming nearer vnto the town, taking men & cattell, they within will ſalie forth to defende, or recouer them, and what ambuſhes may bee laid, according to the men which ſalie out, and in what maner they gouerne them ſelues.

In going out a freebooting, it muſt be kept very ſecret, the men them ſelues not knowing at what hower they are to ſalie, but onely to ſtand prepared, aſſembling them togither after the ſhutting of the gates, and if it be neceſſarie, to ſound a trumpet for it, as they vſe to doe at the guardes, or a ſordine, that it may not be vnderſtood although there be ſpyes in the towne, when they ſalie forth, but the beſt of all is to warne them to be readie by mouth. Forme of going a freeboting.

The men and guides being geathered togither with the greateſt ſecrecie that may be, the Capteine or Leader which goeth a freeboting with them, ſhall name vnto them two or three places whither he would go, to ſee whither they know the wayes, & to be ſure they be perfect in them. This done, they ſhall open the gates, and at their ſalie out of the towne, ſhall ſend an officer, or ſoldior that is well practiſed with ſixe or eight ſoldiors, to whō they ſhall deliuer a guide, that they may goe before the freeboters, willing them to carry thē the

cloſeſt way he can from the high waies, and villages, vntill they be a good way from the towne, and being by day, the Captaine ſhall march with another guide, and the greater troupe of the men in the ſight of the carriers, but at night nearer, becauſe they are to ſerue to goe a diſcouering, and he ſhall leaue another practiſed ſoldior with ſixe or eight ſoldiors more in the rereguarde, & a guide with them: the which are to march in ſight of the greater troupe, ſeruing (if occaſiō require) when they chaunce to diſcouer any enimies on that part, in ſtead of corriers: prouided that at the opening of the gate, if it be by night, or in the day time, no other perſon ſalie out, then thoſe which goe to freebote, that no intelligence may be giuen to the enimie thereof, and in caſe that the freeboters carrie but one guide alongeſt with them, when they light vpon two wayes, if the night be darke, the firſt troupe is to leaue a ſoldior there, to teach the ſeconde which way they are to take, and the ſecond to leaue another for the thirde to followe, and not to loſe their way.

Likewiſe whē there goe mē of diuers garriſons, or troupes, at different houres, vpon a piece of ſeruice, and that all are to paſſe by a croſſe way, thē they take order, as euery one paſſeth by that way, to leaue a marke or token behinde them, as to pitch vp ſome ſtone, cut of bowes, or ſomewhat els, that they may vnderſtande, the troupes are gone before, & this is to be done when it is not fit to leaue any of them ſelues behinde. In this order they are to marche, and the Captaine muſt ſend ſome ſoldiors of his troupe euer & anon, to ſee what the vanguard ſaith, and if they march carefullie. And in caſe they be to paſſe by any way where the enimie may annoy them before their returne backe, by ſpying the print of their horſſes feete, if the weather be dry, it is a good way to putt it out, by the troupe which tarrieth behind, carying of great boughes, and trayling them after them.

When there is an intent to haue any ambuſhes, or lay men

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in ſtealth, they are to vſe the ſame meanes of boughes to blot out the print of their footſteps, and that they may not be perceyued to haue trod there, looking as neare as is poſſible to the horſes that they neigh not, whereby manie times they come to be diſcouered, the beſt remedie being whē the horſes are not many, to ſeuer thoſe that moſt are giuen to ney. Aduiſe for ambuſhes.

Being come to the ſtande of the ambuſhe, they are to viewe wel the ſalies therof, to chuſe the beſt for their purpoſe, aſwel to charge vpon the enimie, as to retire themſelues if he be the ſtronger. This being viewed, they are to cauſe a ſoldiour to clyme vp into a tree, whence he may deſcrie furtheſt, and to giue them notice of what they ſee, another ſoldiour ſtanding on horſebacke at the foote of the tree, to carrie worde to the head of the ambuſhe, what he in the tree ſayeth, and in caſe they be not able to diſcouer ynough from one place alone, then are they to ſet mē vp in two or three trees, that they may ſerue as a watch tower, ſoldiors on horſebacke ſtāding at the foote of euery one, and the like may be done in villages vpon the topps of towers and high houſes. In this maner they may cōtinue the ambuſh, and refreſh their horſes, if need require, ſo as the watchmen diſcouer farre of, for that then they ſhall haue time to bridle them. This ambuſh being laid neare vnto anie frontire, with intent to doe any damage to the people therof, it muſt be prouided that the ambuſh come neare before it growe daye, and as many men as they meete, to keepe with them vntill two or three houres of the day be paſt, then is the leader of the ambuſhe to ſende an expert ſoldiour with ſuch as he ſhall think fitt, by a differing way about the countrey, taking as many cattell as they can, & to retire themſelues by the ſame way where the ambuſh lyeth, in ſuch manner as by the haſt which they make, they may make the enimie beleeue that they feare they ſhall not be able to bring it home, who will followe them with the more furie, and the ambuſh is not to ſalie out vpō them, vntill they be cleare paſſed them,

and then they may be able to charge vpon their backs, without giuing meanes vnto thē to be able to returne, which they are to doe, ſalying in good order, & to haſten or no the charg, by trot, or gallop, according to the matter they would execute, holding it for good, they are to put the bootie and priſoners before, the Captaine with troupe remayning in the rereguard, and corriers behinde him, making good ſpeed vntill they gett themſelues out of the enimies countrey, and put themſelues in ſafetie, conſidering, that, by the ſtanding of the ſoldiers buſied about the guard of the priſoners, and wearieſomnes hauing trauailed all night, and the horſes not ſo luſtie to combate withall, the troupe can not be ſo ſtrong as when they came forth.

Diuers maners of diuiding booties.

The bootie being ſafelie brought home, it is to be diuided according to the cuſtome which the place carieth, & as euery nation vſeth: Becauſe in ſome places the fifte is giuen to the Prince, the Generall, or Gouernour taking a peece, diuiding the reſt among the whole, proportionable to their payes: in ſuch ſorte as an equall part may fall to the Captayne, officer and ſoldior, which taried at home vpon the guard, as well as to them that went abroade. Among other nations the Captains take the tenth out of the booties which the ſoldiers get, albeit they be not preſent at it, and at other times they diuide the companies and they ſende ſo many ſoldiours a freebooting at one time, and afterwardes other differing from them, running ouer all the companies to ſalie by courſe, that they may trauaile equallie, & thē the bootie which euery troupe getteth, is diuided among the ſoldiers of their owne companie, without any of the reſt hauing ſhare therein.

Beſides the freebootings which they vſe & damage growing to the enimie thereby, trade is to be endeuoured to bee had within his country, which is a thing moſt to be practiſed with great warines and conſideration, and for the moſt part with perſons whoſe chiefe foundation muſt grow by falſifyinge

ing their faith towards thoſe whom they ſerue: wherby ſmal aſſurance can bee giuen to what they offer, except the ſame cauſe & occaſion ſet them at libertie from their firſt faith, by which they may hold ſome more ſecuritie of the ſeconde which they vowe, weighing all circumſtances, as who he is you treat with, for what cauſe, and in what manner, and whether he that hath charge of the place be a ſoldiour or no, becauſe being one, it may bee himſelfe peraduenture which ſendeth to treate with you to diſcouer to what ende you meane to make your ſalie, and when, that the damage may growe greater and double therby, and ſometimes to the end that the greater parte of the garriſon may be drawne to ſalie out of the town, for the execution of the plott which is offered, and then may he with much more eaſe execute what he liſt him ſelfe in the ſame place, by reaſon of the intelligence he hath had, or in any other, whiche hee would neuer haue durſt to haue conceyued otherwiſe, for the many guardes & ſouldiours, a matter eaſilie brought about by ſuch a ſtratageme or deuiſe.

They ſurpriſe townes in like ſorte by ſcale: And to that end they muſt ſend ſoldiors of experience and truſt to viewe the wayes vnto them, the bredth and depth of the diches, & how farre it is to the water, the height of the walles, qualitie of the warde which the enimie keepeth, diſpoſition of the Centinells, with what circumſpection they ſtande in the places, what diſtance is betweene one another, whether one may be able to diſcouer the whole wall ouer or no, at what hower the roundes vſe to paſſe, and whether they tarrie long before they meete one with the other, in ſuch ſorte as one may bee able by gayning or killing of the Centinell, to ſtande aſſured of the wall or tower before the rounde come to it. Conſideration for ſurpriſes.

As well doe men endeuour to gayne townes by channels of water, which run thorough them, low caſamates in the ditches or ſecret gates, vſinge patardes to breake, and blowe them What hurt patardes do to gates.

them open, which is a kind of artillery, which hath bin inuẽted fewe yeres ſince in theſe partes, which in a moment worketh great effect, in throwing down of gates, if a man may come to faſten the patarde in it, and the ſtrõger they be, with the more violence doth the patarde worke, ouerthrowinge one, or two gates at once, albeit there be a diſtance betweene one and other, and a valte in the middſt, except they be builded in ſuch maner, as the patarde ſhall looſe his force, hauing a vente by which the violẽce of the powder doth euaporate.

The particularities ſet downe being knowne, which are to be looked into, comparing one with the other, with great cõſideration, and the number of men, thought vpon, wherwith the ſcaladoe is to be giuen, they are to aſſemble togither after the gates bee ſhutt, if they goe all forth of one towne, if not to appoint a place and hower where to meete, and this, according to that in which you are to effect it, whether it muſt
Midnight. be at the hower of cẽtinell, which they terme *Modorra*, or before, or at the *Diana*, being verie fit that the day peepe by that time you come within the place, putting the troupes or companies of men in order which are to bee diuided into vanguarde, batayle and rereguarde, with a particular leader to each one, that may be a ſoldiour of reſolution, for that this is an action which requireth no leſſe courage and valour then the canviſadoes, not only in the heads thereof, but in the ſoldiers which are to execute, who of force howe valiant ſoeuer they bee, can not but bethinke within themſelues whether they goe ſold or not, or there be any treacherie, or the entrie haue bene well viewed, or the going vp good, or fortified ſince: ſtumbling blocks which the obedience of commandment, and reſolution of their owne courage muſt be faine to make plaine and euen: And for that in many places it is not onely neceſſarie to carie ſcaling ladders for ſuch enterpriſes, but bridges of pieces of tymber to frame them of, and boates for any arme of the water or ditch, I wil write in what maner

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it is good to proceed, being forced to carry all three alongeſt with them.

The ladders for ſuch a purpoſe are to be only of the height of the walls, becauſe that if they be longer, it is an eaſie matter for them aboue, catching at the vpper ſtepps to turne them ouer with as many as are vpon them, and if they bee ſhorter, then can they not clime vp to the top by them: To remedie this there muſt be great care taken, many townes hauing miſſed being wonne, by reaſon their ladders were to ſhort, hauing taken meaſure to the iuſt height of the wal, but not from that parte of the ground where the ladders were faine to ſtande. The vanguarde of your men muſt bee deuided into fower parts, & the firſt rancks are to be laden with the ſcaling ladders, deuiding them according to their bignes and number, in the ſecond parte of the ſame vanguarde muſt the timbers of the bridge be carried, and in the thirde the boates, the fowerth parte conſiſting of thoſe which are to clime vp firſt, as the leaſt wearie among them, and by the reaſon of warre ſo required: which notwithſtanding, there is no ſoldior of puntilloe, who if hee come to ſet vp the ladder, will ſuffer any other to clime vp before him, except it be ſuch as haue helped to carry it, or his Capteine or Officer: the boates are made ſometime of leather, that they may be light, and other of timber parted into fower quarters or more, ioyning them afterwards together, with vices of yron, which ſome annoint with oyle, to kepe them from taking ruſte, although they lye many dayes in the water, cloſing the pieces in ſuch order together with the vices, as the boate remayneth tyte, calking with ſpeede the ioynts thereof

Meaſure of ſcaling ladders.

Maner of boates.

The leaders being ſet down, order is to be giuen for their marche, and for thoſe rancks which are firſt to ſet vp the ladders, or caſt the boats or timbers of the bridge into the water, that they make no confuſion or noyſe in doing it, being among all the reſt of the orders which are to bee made, moſt

preciſelie enioyned, that whē they ſhall haue gottē the walls, no ſoldior be ſo hardie as to go to ſacke, vntill they be aſſured of the town, becauſe then they ſhall haue time enough. This being done, they are to ſende corriers out of the towne, who are to goe diſcouering before, the cartes or moyles following with the ladders and boates, in caſe the way be ſo farr, as that it is not good for the ſouldiours to carrie them, who are to marche according to ſuch order as their heades ſhall enioyne them, euer carrying the ladders and boates before.

Being arriued neare vnto the town, which they are to ſcale, they ſhall vnlade the ladders, barkes & bridges in ſuch places as no noyſe may be heard, he that is appointed giuing order for euery thing, & they which carie the barkes ſhall put them into the water, taking halters and ropes to drawe the tymbers of the bridge for to frame it, which are to be caſt into the water by ſuch as carrie them. The bridge being framed, the leader of thoſe which hold the ladders (who ſhould be he which had viewed all, or to haue him in his companie which had done it) is to goe before to aſſure himſelfe of the entry, and if it bee ariſing, to carry with him a ſmall ladder of cordes with a ſtaffe or halfe pike to faſten them to, and then to clime vp on high to viewe whether they are perceyued or no, & finding not, they ſhall ſet vp the ladders in the ſecureſt place againſt the wall, clyminge vp by them, ſo as it may bee done with greateſt diligence and facilitie, and leaſt noyſe. The walls being gayned, they ſhall goe to the next gate to the place where they firſt gaue the ſcaladoe, carrying with them pincers, files, hammers, crowes of yron, and other inſtruments to open the gates with: a buſines which is to bee done with diligence, that the cauallerie or ſanterie may enter into the town, which for this purpoſe taryed in the rereguard of all, and ſtoode in ſquadron in the field, that vpon any ill ſucceſſe, they might be able to helpe the ſoldiers running backe, who continually muſt followe on without looſing ranke, to get vp by the ladders:

ders: and in caſe there bee any Citadell or Caſtell within the town, they muſt repaire to that place, ſtopping that none of their men retyre themſelues in, and when there is no Caſtle in the towne or place appointed to ioyne themſelues together in cordeguards, becomming entirely Lords of the town, then are they to giue it to ſacke, & to fortifie it, placing a good garriſon: and when the Caſtle or Catadell, if there bee any hath not yeelded, then to preuente that no ſuccour enter in at thoſe gates, vnto them, which Caſtles commonly haue towards the countrey for that purpoſe, placing good watch at the entrance of the ſtreets which lead thither, fortifying them with trauerſes, and other things conuenient, as to make loopholes out of houſes, rampyring if it neceſſare, to defende the ſhot of the artillerie, whereby they of the Caſtle will growe cleane out of the harte from thinking to bee able to recouer the towne againe, and by that diſtruſt will hold it a farre better courſe to yeeld themſelues.

Thoſe cõqueſts which Kings & Princes attempt by ſea happen at ſuch time as they haue ſhippes, mariners and other neceſſarie thinges for it, much more eaſie then by land, for the commoditie which they haue in carying in a ſmall time great number of ſoldiers, munitions and artillerie from ſundrie countries & farr diſtant. By this meanes our Lord God doth open the way to ſuch Kingdomes & ſtates, as poſſeſſeth anie ſea coaſtes to expect their greatnes and encreaſe, which in our times hath bene ſufficiently proued, by that the Crownes of Caſtile and Portingall hath done, which the K. our Soueraigne Lorde father vnto *Y. H.* poſſeſſeth, ſpredding out his empire & rule through the Eaſt and Weſt Indies, with ſuch a multitude of conqueſts though ther were no more examples of the time paſt: a matter which the Caſtilian prouerbe amed at, ſaing *Reyno ſin puerto, chimenea ſin fuego:* A conſideration, which bindeth *Y. H.* to fauor and honor the ſea ſoldiers, rewarding them and the Pilotts and mariners, and to enter-

Conſideration touching ſea ſeruice.

Hernan Nunez lib. de reſt. L. C

How much it importeth to maintain armies by sea.

taine great Armies in ordinarie, proportioning the forces of them with those of the lande, which is that by which conseruation of Empires standeth assured, being Lordes of the sea, and the foundatiō (according to mans reason) of their greatnes enduring, thorough the necessitie which most Prouinces holde to respect them, for maintenance of their trades and traficques, & facilitie with which he that is powerfull on the sea may offende in sundrie partes at one instant. And albeit this in generall will not binde *Y. H.* yet the monarchie which you are to possesse, and qualitie of your Crownes and estates requireth for their scituatiō sake to hold Armes by sea, wherby to succour them vpon anie distres and offend the enimie, since of their verie selues, euery one holdeth by him selfe forces sufficient to holde out attending succor: which is one of the reasons that causeth many to iudge Empires deuided into sundry Prouinces to be more firme, then in one bodie, where corruption once entring causeth a farr greater ruyne, then in the deuided, and distant, being seldome times all infected at once with one morion, as it may fall out where they stande vnited.

The preparation of your *Y. H.* fleete in the number of shippes, soldiors and artillery, is to be according to the enterprise you purpose to vndertake, & to consider therin the season, the power of the enimie, what cōfederates he may haue, and the rest of the considerations which I haue set downe in common to bee obserued in forming of armes by lande, the which will tell you of what burthen shippes wilbe most conuenient for nauigation, whether they are to vse Gallyes or Boates of ores only, or carying likewise of higher caruing, if they bee to carrie cauallerie, which will require conuenient shipps for this purpose, & by consequence for the carriadg of munitiōs victuals & the rest of the prouisions. Prouided that when it is an armie of round ships, and that the winde which serueth you to sayle, will bringe with it, as mariners terme

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it, growne ſeas, the nauigation when the armie is great muſt needes be much longer then with an other wind, which maketh faire weather, or that there were but a few ſhipps which bindeth you to cõſider that albeit light Piniſhes may in ſo many days performe the voyage, a great armie muſt be fain with the very ſame wind to ſpend many more therin, in which care muſt be giuẽ to mariners which are of experience, & practiſe in the ſame trade, folowing their opinion, for the time which ſhalbe beſt to ſayle, and in particuler the * Admiralls, who is *Y. H.* Lieuetenant at the ſea: An office which holdeth more or leſſe preheminence in ſome prouinces, then in an other, according vnto the authoritie which it hath pleaced Princes to giue vnto them. And whẽ he doth not exerciſe his office, *Y. H.* is to name a generall at the ſea, and ſometimes he is the ſame which is on land, and at other times no, whoſe office is to ioyne together and compound the armie, and to fit the ſhippes with artillerie, arming them with * carriges and other preparations, according to the burthen, and men which are to fight in them, and forme which euery nation caryeth, accõmodating things more carefully in that, then in an other. Furniſhing likewiſe with victualls, placing in the office of a generall victuler, a perſon of truſt, much diligence, & litle couetouſneſſe conſidering that by ſtincking victuals fleets & armies haue many times receyued more loſſe, thẽ they needed to haue feared by tempeſts or enimies, & the couetouſnes of officers haue bin the only cauſe, who looking only into their own profit, haue procured vnto their Princes the deſtruction of their armies and men of warre.

* Office of Admiral it is aſwel taken for a chiefe cõmaunder vpon the land, & therfore from auncient time there hath bene an Admiral in Caſtilla, though the Kingedome bee without any port, far diſtant frõ the ſea.

* Raretas, which they vſe in ſteade of our cariges with trucks, their wheles like fielde cariages.

Your ſhippes and men ſtanding readie for the enterpriſe, a fewe daies before their departure, *Y. H.* is to commaund that your Standart be arboled, which ſome * Prelate is before to haue for to hallow, and at the doing of it, order is to be giuen to all the ſhipps, in what maner they ſhall giue the *Salue*, at the arboling of it, which ordinarilie is, that it may make the more

* I can not blame you, you had ſo good ſucces with your ſtandart hallowed at Liſbone in preſence of the Cardinall, 1588.

ſhewe, to diſcharg the harquebuſerie, the muſketerie folowing,& then the ſmal pieces,& after in proportion the greater. I will not be tedious to ſet downe in what maner the ſhipp is to be dreſſed vp in which *T.H.* perſon goeth, nor what faſhiō of ſtreamers or flagges it is to carrie, being to be more or leſſe and according to the oſtentation & magnificēce which *T.H.* meaneth to vſe in the iorney: particulars which * Admiralls and Generalls are to looke vnto, according to the pleaſure & motiue of the Prince, whether him ſelfe be preſent or no in the enterpriſe, which cauſeth to adde or diminiſh, frō the relations which are made of other Armies, in reſpect of this, & of the maner, how the Prince is to be ſaluted, embarking him ſelfe or no, or going to viſite the armie, and at his departure from the Porte, if he goe him ſelfe in perſon.

* Their vſe at ſea is different from ours, for what we cal Admirall in which the Generall goeth, they terme Capitana, and the Admiral with them is Viceadmiral with vs.

The Captana is to carrie beſides the *Royall Standart, an other flagg on the top of the maine maſte,& the Admirall an other in the top of the foremaſte, flaggs which no other ſhip may carrie, and before they goe out of harbor, the ſquadrons muſt be diuided, to the end they may be known: the Armie being great, the ſhipps of euery ſquadron are to carrie a ſtreamer of ſuch colour as his ſquadron carieth, and that is to bee hanged on the maine yarde Arme of the Starbord ſide.

* The ſtandert is vſed to ſtand always in the poop neare the general.

Likewiſe an order of fight muſt be agreed vpon, that euerie ſhip may know his place, giuing the ſame to all the Captains of the ſhips in writing, ſhewing in what maner thei are to gouerne thēſelues, as things fall out, & to be able to vnderſtand by ſuch ſignes as the Capitana ſhall make, what they are to doe, in which I will write downe the moſt principal pointes.

General orders for ſayling.

When *T.H.* would haue the Armie, weather ſeruing for it to be put in battaile, there ſhalbe hung out in ſuch a place of the Capitana as hath ben appointed before, a flagge of ſuch colour: And if you would haue the Captaines of the ſhipps to come abord you, thē another flagge is hanged vpon ſome maſte of a different colour, vpon which they will lanch their

Skiffes,

Skiffes,and come to the Capitana,bringing along with them the Pillotes and Mariners of moſt experience.

In caſe a ſchip of the armie ſhould diſcrie another, they are wonte to put vp a flagg hanging it on that ſide of the ſhip on which he diſcouereth her to lye, & being more then one, two flagges, the one higher then the other, by which it ſhall giue notice not only to the Capitana, but to the reſt of the fleete. At other times with this ſigne they are wont to ſhoote of a piece when the armie is very great, and that they can hardlie perceyue the flags,by the diſtance that they make in ſayling.

If any ſmall Barks,ſent out at any time by the Capitana to diſcouer, make ſhewe that they haue diſcried ſome, and that you would haue them to paſſe onwards to viewe them better,they are wont to put a colored flagg on the forecaſtle, by which meanes they ſhall vnderſtande what they are cõmanded to doe: and if *Y. H.* pleaſure bee that all the ſhippes ſhall make way and doe their beſt, a ſquare flag is wont to be hanged betweene the main top and the foretop,& at other times the ſame flag is put on the top of the foretopmaſt that it may be ſeene further,being an armie of many ſhips & that all may decerne it,although they be far a ſunder, whereby they ſhall know that they are to make way,and to vſe all diligence.

Likewiſe the firſt ſhip which diſcry the land,ought to put on that ſide of his ſhip which he ſeeth it a ſquare flagg vpon the main topmaſt, enclining it alitle towards that part, wher he ſaw the land,and to diſcharge a great ſhott or two.

If any ſhip be in danger of ſplitting, by running a ground or knocked vpon any rocke,or other miſſortune,ſhe ſhall diſcharge three great ſhott one after an other, & cauſe a man to goe vp to the main top and to goe roũd about with a flagg in his hand,by which they may vnderſtand ſhee is in danger,& demandeth ſuccor. And if any ſhipp of the enimies ſhould fortune to come among the great armadas to view them,and

that

that they are willing to see whether it be one or no, the Capitana vseth to hang vp a flag of a different colour, in some part of the ship, & then all the rest of the armie doe the like, wherby the enimie is discouered.

For sailing by night, they likewise giue instructiõ, for whatsoeuer should happẽ, the Capitana carying one lãterne alone, and if the Admiral cary any thẽ is the Capitana to cary two, that she may be known: and if the weather waxe boysterous in such sorte as it may proue dangerous that any fire should chaunce to light out of the lanterne vpon the poope, they change it to the foremast, and any storme growing, the Capitana lighteth two or three, which serued for a signe that euery ship should light his, & especially if they be Gallies or shipps of ores, preuenting that they doe not grow fowle one of another by the darknes and hausines of the weather: and any tempest growing vpõ the storme, the Capitana is to discharg one or to cannon shott, to giue warning that euerie Gallie shift the best she can for her self, without following of her, hauing instruction in writing (if the iourney bee resolutelie appointed) in what place or hight they are to returne to ioyne, in case that by stormes the shipps should come to be seuered and dispersed.

The Capitana making another bord in the night, or chaunging her course, they vse to hang a lantern in the shroudes, & shake of her bonets, or take in her topsayles: and when she taketh in all her sailes and meaneth to hull, they put in the shrowds tree lanternes, & in case a leake be in any ship of the armie, or that a maste or yard be sprong, they vse to discharge a great shot, and being in great extremitie, three.

In discouering any ship of the enimies, they fling fire into the sea, or set vp a lantern in such part of the ship as it may be well discerned, discharging some great shott: and if there be many shippes, he shall shoote of fower or fiue times together, setting vp three lanternes vpon the poope, and an other vpõ the forecastle.

If

If one ſhip alone happen to diſcrie land in the night, and not the reſt, they vſe to ſhoote of one or two pieces, & ſetting vp a lanterne tackes into the ſea, with ſmall ſaile whereby the reſt of the ſhipps followe, plying vp and down in this maner vntill morning.

If you would haue the ſhipps come togither in the night, the Capitana muſt ſhoot of a piece, putting vp two lanternes vpon the corners of the higheſt parte of the Poope, and another vpon the myſine maſt, a ſigne wherby they will draw together, theſe being the principall points for which inſtructions be to bee giuen in writing vpon any accaſion that may fall out by day or by night in nauigation, with ſuch tokens as are thought moſt conuenient, theſe which I haue ſett downe being but to ſerue as a paterne to make other by.

Generall orders for fight.

Iointly order muſt bee giuen to euery Captaine in what maner he is to arme his ſhip, if he haue cauſe to fight, & that he execute it with preciſenes, appointing the leaders and ſoldiers which are to fight expreſly their places, ſo diſpoſing the men which he caryeth in his ſhip as that they may ſerue both the decks, the poope, galleries, maintop and forecaſtle, appertayning to the head of the ſhip to ſtand vpon the poope with ſome particuler ſoldiers, of whō he holdeth a good conceite, allotting the principall places ſet down to ſuch officers as are in the companies, giuing order to ſuch ſoldiers as he hath, that they obey them in their places as if it were his own perſon, and giue hand one to help another, or come whether neceſſitie ſhall require, & that in euery one of theſe ſtandes they haue two dozen of half pikes, which are to haue the thirde part of them talowed ouer, towards the head, that the enimie catching at them may faſten no holde, & that he cauſe ſuch perſons as are ther to fight to take pikes, not knowing how to manage a harquebuſe, becauſe otherwiſe they ſhould ſerue with them firſt, & take pikes after, & that there be mē in time of bording appointed to the place of Armes, which is to bee

betweene the maine maſt and the prowe.

Likewiſe *Y. H.* is to command, that among ſuch perſons as are known and haue ſkill to vſe them, may bee beſtowed the artificial fires, and tronkes and balls of wild fire, and ſuch like, for the danger which may enſewe if they ſhould not knowe to vſe them as they ought.

Iointly you muſt command that ſuch a one may be put in charge with the powder, as will looke vnto it with great care and circumſpection, that by no meanes any touch it or come neare that caryeth any fire, and that two or three truſtie perſons may bee appointed to aſſiſt him which hath charge of the powder.

Likewiſe it muſt be ordayned that whē they come to fight, the Clarks and Religious men, Phiſitions, Surgions, and the reſt whoſe turne is not to fight, may be ſtowed in hold vnder water, who are to haue a head to gouerne them, and ſheets of lead, hammers, nayles, ſkuppers, hides, pluckes of wood, and other neceſſaries, that in caſe they ſhould receyue any ſhott, they may quicklie remedie it, and caucke it, employing all diligence in this, which a matter of ſo great perill importeth.

Alſo that they commaund all emptie caſke to bee ſawed a ſunder in the midſte, and in fight fill them with ſalt water, and all the reſt of the caſke which hath bene emptied in the ſhip, putting them in places where the ſoldiers fight, prouiding by this means to be able to quench the fire, and to haue buckets to carrie the water, and all other thinges which the artillerie ſhall ſtand in neede of, appointing a leader to take counte of theſe things, & perſons to helpe him. The topps of the maine and foremaſtes of the great ſhipps are to be coyled with ould cables without, & within with beds for the defence of thoſe which are to fight in thē, whether they are to carry vp ſtones, pieces of yron, or lead, to fling down at time of fight: things which *Y. H.* is to commaunde that euery Captaine be prouided of by himſelf in his ſhip, in ſuch ſorte as he ſhall not ſtand

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in neede thereof at the very inſtant.

At ſunne ſett the whole fleete commeth to hayle the Capitana vnder her lee, and vayleth their ſailes, and ſhe anſwereth them againe, giuing them the word for that night: when by occaſion of weather that cānot be done, they haue a word in writing ſett down for euery day in the weeke, whereby they know one an other, and the Admirall tarieth laſt in the rereguard to gather the Fleete vp togither. When night cōmeth, and that they haue ſong the * Salue in the ſhippes, they putt out all the candells, leauing none ſtirringe but ſuch as muſt needes, which ſhalbe lampes of oyle for the danger of fire, or candels within lanternes, whereby they may ſett nothing on fire, which done, the men withdrawe them ſelues to bedd, all ſaue the watch, and centinels abyding in their ſtandes.

* Vſed at the ſetting of the wache as we doe clearing of the glaſſe.

At morning by breake of day, the trumpets ſound the dawning, and all the Fleete cōmeth alee, & haileth the Capitana: whereby it is knowen if any be miſſing out of the fleete, and in caſe ſhe be not perceiued, ſome light Pinniſh which attendeth a ſterne, is ſent out to looke her, following the courſe or point of the compas which was giuen for ſayling, & the Capitana continuing hers, the reſt of the Armie ſayle a ſterne of her, and with ſuch diſtance, as they may not looſe ſight.

Offring to giue battayle, which is the moſt dangerous matter of all whatſoeuer doth concerne the warres, aſwell for the facilitie with which the ſhipps are ſett on fire, as that of neceſſitie he which will ſubdewe his enimie, muſt enter him: and when he hath not done it by force of Artillerie, he then commeth to fight with ſo much diſaduantage, as hauing grappeled the ſhippes, to leape vpon the ſhrowdes, mayſtering the poope, forecaſtle, and both the deckes: A perill to which an other not the leaſt is added, fighting vpon the Sea, which is the greateſt enimie of all, ſparing none that falleth into her, which is not ſo vpon the lande.

In ſetting the ſhippes in battayle, when they doe not fight

Forme of battayle for round shippes.

in Channels, and streames of sholes and shelffes, where of necessitie they must dispose the fleete according as the roome will afforde, making vanguarde battaile, and rereguarde, all mariners are of opinion that fighting with round ships, the best forme of battaile is to make one Fronte, putting the Capitana in the middest, and of each side of her (when there are but fewe shippes) the greatest and of most bulcke, one lying as neare the other as may be. Prouided that they come not so to meete togither, as to waxe fowle with their shrowdes, as it sometimes happeneth, and causeth verie much trouble.

And the Armie being great, others compounde the battaile of one fronte, the shippes of euerie squadron following their head, deuiding them as they iudge most conuenient, according to the qualitie of the shippes, and at other times for this consideration & the greatnes of the shippes, without caring to haue them of any squadron, in sayling they mingle one with another, appointing them what place they are to holde when they come to fight: and this cõsidering that the Armie being great, and by cõsequent the front great, which is to be made vpon putting them selues in battaile, it is necessarie the Capitana being in the middest, to disperse those persons which carrie the greatest shipps, through the whole battaile and front, garnishing the horne to windeward, with the greatest and strongest, to the end they may defende the smaller ships which are to fight on the lee on the contratie horne, and be able hereby to animate the rest, and guyde them to borde, for that the Capitana by reason of the great distaunce which a great Armie must of necessitie occupie, can not attende at such a time vpon all, with such readines as is to bee required.

In one of these formes they saile in the best order that can be, without anie one shipp going before an other, And if the weather will suffer it, so farre a sunder as two or three shippes may be able to goe betweene euery one. For which cause

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thoſe which are beſt of ſaile doe fitt their ſayles in ſtriking the lower, wherby they come to make no more way; the ſluggie ſeeking to gaine the winde on both ſides to fight, & to come in order of battailes before written, to borde, which is that which moſt importeth at ſea, he which hath gotte the winde being able to giue a greater thruſt at bording, and to caſt the ſmoke of his artillerie vpon the contrarie ſhipp, and to helpe him with more advantage by the fires, anoying the other thereby, and in caſe he liſt to ſhoote at the enimie before bording, he may commodiouſlie doe it, by reaſon of the winde, diſcharging both his brode ſides at the time of his bordinge, which is where the ſhippes carry moſt pieces: and to preuent this he which findeth him ſelfe able in the burthen of his ſhippes and number of men to borde, goeth aſſoone as euer he hath gotten the winde, with the greateſt ſpeed he can in a fronte to doe it, and if he be deſirous to ſhunne bording, by reaſon his ſhippes be lower, he entertayneth time ſhooting of ſtill his Tyres by making Bordes, which is to annoy the enimie, without aduenturing to come to hande ſtrokes with him, for the diſaduantage which he knoweth he ſhall gett by it, not hauing ſo high ſhippes, nor multitude of ſouldiours, whoſe handes and force vpon bording getteth the victorie, becauſe they diſcharge no other artillerie then Cannons perſall and ſmal pieces in their vpper works where they vſe not alreadie ſlinges, ſhooting of all the artillerie he can at ſuch time as he is readie to borde, when bullets worke moſt effect, and almoſt none at all before, the reſt being but ſhott into the ayre, of which great conſideration is to be had. For this cauſe ſome are of opinion, if the winde ſerue, that the Capitana ſhould delay bording him ſelfe, vntill the reſt of the ſhippes had done, and in the meane time to be able to ſuccour, wher need ſhould moſt require, gouerning him ſelf therin, as they doe vpon the lande in dayes of battayle, where the Generalls ſquadron is the laſt which commeth to ſhocke. A particular

in which a great inconuenience ceaſſeth not to offer it ſelfe, and that is, that at ſea euery ſhippe is to fight by it ſelfe, and to be a matter of greateſt moment for obrayning of the victory to get ſome one of the enimies in as ſhort time as may be, for which of force they are to gage their greateſt and ſtrongeſt ſhippes at firſt, to come to hande ſtrokes, and to ſeeke out the Capitanas, which by reaſon ought to be the beſt ſhippes on both ſides; and in ſhippes it is not the harte of the Captaine, which goeth in them that gouerneth them, but the Maiſter or Pilote taketh many times occaſion thorough their owne cowardiſe to put of the Capitana from bording, with that reſolution which the Generall deſireth: And likewiſe that whiche is moſt conuenient, is, to haue the Capitana of the firſte ſhippes to borde the Capitana of the enimies armie, appointing ſome other to ſuccour her, if neede ſhould bee. In the iudgement of the greateſt Mariners and ſoldiers at ſea, when there is an vnequalitie in the number of ſhippes, they eſteme it a matter ouer daungerous to fight with them, groundinge them ſelues vpon this, that one ſhip is but to fight with another, and the aduantage in number doth eaſilie make them to fight two againſt one, and if they chaunce to yeelde, yet ſhee muſt be faine to come to helpe the reſt, and therfore they neuer blame any that ſhall refuſe to fight with like diſaduãtage, and if one doe it, and winne, yet doe they holde him for oueruenturous, and of no great gouernement, when the qualitie of his ſhipps & men be not anſwerable to the number of the reſt. Theſe the mariners affirme to be the cõſiderations of greateſt importãce in giuing of battaile, diſpoſing it ſo, as one ſhippe may borde another without puſſing two againſt one, except they be more in number, looking into the qualitie of the pieces of artillerie which the enimie carieth, and whether his ſhippes be buylded to be able to ſerue with it or no, with two or three tyres on the ſides, according to the burthen of ſuch ſhips, and whether they be of braſſe or the greater parte

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of caſt yron, which reacheth nothing ſo farr, * and is ſooner heated.

* This is verie doubtful & I thinke he is deceyued.

In time paſt they kept a great ſturr in arming the topps for the miſchief which was done to the enimie therby, and now they doe not hold it to be of ſo great moment, ſince muſketerie is growne in vſe, againſt which they which ſtande in the tops can hardlie defend themſelfes, and as men which ſtand naked are hurt eaſelie. For this cauſe they fit them ſelues better by placing blinders to couer their men, ſaue ſuch onlie as are neceſſarie for the gouernement of the ſhippe, and the reſt to abyde in their places, preſeruing them ſelues as long as they can before they come to the puſh of the pike. This ſame, & to procure that the poope and prowe may be reared for to combat and defend the entrie, hath made to heythen them with bords on both ſides, making them hollow, a little leſſe then a geometrical foot, filling vp the hollow with ould netts of fiſhermen, that may ſerue to be of muſkett prooffe, without clogging the ſhip much with carging, & when ſhips haue a long time grapeled, ſeeing themſelues run a ground, and not able to enter to make her yeeld, by reaſon that her poope is ſo high, they vſe to caſt out of them vpon the other ſhippe, aſhes, ſcalding oyle, and molten lead, to anoy thoſe which ſtande defending vpon the decke, and running thorough the ſhrowdes to offende the reſt.

They likewiſe defend with woolbeds & bolſters, or wolſackes, if there be anie, thoſe places in the ſhippes which are moſt conuenient at ſuch time as they goe to fight, ordayning after that the men ſtande beſtowed in the fower principall places, that they fight in order, and not running them ſelues out of breath: for that it hath fallen out after grapeling, that ſhippes haue fought without being able to iudge which was likelieſt to haue the victorie, a whole day and a night, & more time too, & ſerued their turne with wildefire vpon good occaſion, becauſe if one haue not the winde, it is a moſt dange-

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rous miſchiefe to fling fier into his enimie, his owne ſhippe being likelie to take it, and very hardlie able to loſe him ſelfe.

It may ſometime fall out to be in an harbor, and that a more powerfull enemie commeth to fight, in this caſe it falleth into conſideration, according as the harbor is, in which he findeth you, whether it be friend or enimie. Being enimie they muſt in reaſon ancker where they are likelieſt to receiue leaſt annoyance from the lande, and make them ſelues readie to fight at ſea, one ſhipp comming as neare to the other as is poſſible to be ioyned togither, by this meanes ſtanding prepared to defende them ſelues on all partes, keeping a ſhipp or pynnes at ſea for watch, to giue notice of ſuch as they ſhould deſcrie: if it be friend, then doe they put the poopes of their ſhippes as neare ſhoare as they can, and as cloſe one by another, the weather ſeruing for it, becauſe by doing thus, the enimie ſhall not dare to come neare them, for feare leaſt their ſhippes runne a ground, for that they can not be able to ſtaie them comming vnder ſayle ſo neare the ſhoare without ſtriking or caſting Anchor, and the diſpoſitiõ of the place ſo ſeruing, they drawe Artillerie a ſhoare to defende the ſhippes withall, frõ whence it reacheth further & with better marke, Being a calme, if the ſhippes can ſtande very cloſe togither, they put bridges ouer one another to ſuccor them ſelues by, and lanche their ſquiffes and barkes into the ſea to ſtopp that no enimie come to cutt the cables of their anchors, nor to ſet their ſhipps on fire, and when the tyde and winde ſerueth, to keepe anie from ſending ſhipps with artificiall fiers, & mynes wrought in them, which when the fire cõmeth to the mynes ſhould blow vp huge ſtones, and other like things put vppon the topp of the worke thereof: with which it doeth not only great annoyance, but burning it ſelfe, ſetteth all the reſt on fier that commeth neare. Theſe boates are to carrie artillerie, and ſome bring blinders to fight the better with them, and to keepe away ſhippes of ſuch fyres and inuentions, where no bodie

bodie goeth in them, they carrie in their boates long ropes, and at the end of them pieces of yron chaines with great grapples to faſten to the ſhip of fiers, which, after the yron grapples haue taken holde on, they may eaſilie toe, whether they liſt.

So doeth an Armie of ſhippes fall out to ſayle, ſtanding in feare, leaſt the enimie ſett vpon them in time of calme with a number of gallies; then the beſt meanes they can vſe, if with the calme they be diſtant one from another, is to lanche out the ſquiffes, and long boats into the water, and giuing a towe with them to bring the ſhippes togither, putting them in the beſt order they can, and the gallies cõming to ſhoot at them, they ſerue their turne with the Artillerie, one helping another by ſtanding neare togither, procuring in this manner to equall the aduãtage which the gallies haue in ſhooting lowe, & almoſt leuell with the water, by diſcharging ſo great ſtore of pieces, as the gallies muſt be enforced to looſe of, not able to come to cloſe.

Meanes to ioyne round ſhipps togeather in time of calme.

The armie being all of gallies and ſhipps of oares, they vſe to place their waſt bordes to fight with them, garniſhing well the * rombadas, and to repaire with traueſſes, bolſters, and beds the boate and maſt, for that in caſe the enimie ſhould gaine the foreparte, yet he ſhould finde fightes able to turne him out againe, the poope being well renforced with men, and the ladders pulled vp where they putt ſome litle pieces, the Captain of the gallie ſtanding at the ſtanderoll, which is his place to gouerne, the ſoldiours keeping their baleſteras with their harquebuſes, & in the ſpaces betweene the bankes they are wont to putt trunkes or balls of fire, lighted, to vſe them, if occaſion require, and pikes, targetts, and halbardes vpon the Cruzia for the ſame purpoſe, the men which are not to fight, ſtanding in holde, and the Surgions to cure thoſe that are hurte, and the Carpenters with their inſtruments, to remedie anie hurte, which might happen on that parte by the fall of anie ſhott.

* Wee haue not the vſe of gallies, & therefore wee can not properlie engliſhe their words of arte.

Forme of ordayning battayles with ships of ores.

To order Battayles of shipps of ores, is done, in a front, or in forme of a halfe moone, The Capitana standinge in the middest, garnishing the hornes or wings (as they terme thē) with some gallies of the most strength. In this manner they goe, hauing gotten the weather by ores in the handes, one as near vnto another as they can be permitted for to saile with, hastening way according to the motiue which the enimie discouereth, and when there are a great number of gallies, they leaue squadrons at the sterne of the Capitana, and so at the gallies of most strength others, wherewith to bee able to succour them. In case the enimie should borde them with more gallies, and carrie as they terme it, the winde in his handes by the ores, there can not be a matter of greater moment to annoy him, thē to blinde him with the smoke of the Artillerie, all the while it lasteth, & to helpe them selues with fires, if occasion serue to borde, a matter which round shipps doe as they can, but those with ores when they liste: and hee which refuseth it must of force receyue the chase, puttinge him selfe in flight, with which they come to borde one another, & if there be a disequalitie in number, two against one.

In shooting of the Artillerie before bording, it is to bee considered that it be at such a distance, as to be able to charge the seconde time, because that discharging the Artillerie after bording, it doth not onely come to hurt with more certeintie, but with a farre greater losse, for that a blowe is of great force at full, a matter which the verie reason of shooting proueth, through the motion whiche the violence of powder giueth to the bullet, a manner in which the artillerie is mounted in the gallies: And if in assaultes by lande they staie shooting anie piece out of the traueses, vntill the men be clambered vnto the toppe of the breach, that they may do the more hurte by the certeintie of the shott, two gallies being borded, which is to come to assalte one another, without all doubt shee shall haue most aduātage which in that season

and inſtance is able to helpe her ſelfe with her full Artillerie: a particular of which great conſideration is to be had, and to be eſteemed of great moment at that inſtant to vſe artillerie, then before with ſhooting off great ſhott, which come all to be loſt, and none of that force they are when they come to borde.

Aduertiſement for to fight, the armie beeing cõpounded both of round ſhips and ſhippes of ores.

If the Armie be compounded of galliaſſes, & high round ſhippes, you muſt frame the battayle according to the diſpoſition which the enimie carieth. Prouided that the galiaſſes, and rounde ſhippes, in caſe the weather ſerue them, ſhoote firſt off their Artillerie, becauſe neceſſarilie it muſt doe much hurte, and when they ſhall come to borde ſuch ſhippes with their gallies, it ſhall tende much to their aduantage, by the nature of the boording, and likewiſe the ſame occaſion is to giue lawe, in what maner the battayle ſhall be diſpoſed, and without doubt the ſhippes of high building will put the enimies to flight, if ſome gallies or rowing veſſells goe in the vanguarde, and when not, it prouoketh the enimie to borde them.

Forme of landinge men.

The Armie being arriued in harbour, or place where you would lande your men, the Capitana is to giue order to all the ſhippes, that as ſoone as they ſee a flagge put forth of ſuch a colour, they lanche their ſquiffes and long boates, & embarque ſuch men in them as the Generall ſhall appointe: in which conſideration is to be had of the qualitie of the countrye, whether it aſke a great quantitie of harquebuſerie, and fewer pikes, or more of them, a ſquadron being preſentlie to be made, for feare of the enimies cauallerie, or a golpe of men ioyned togither, the number being caſt which euery ſkiffe can carrie a ſhoare, then is it to bee ordered, that in euerie ſquiffe or long boat, a thirde parte of pykes, and two of harquebuſiers, in ſuch ſorte as being tenne pikes, there may bee twentie harquebuſiers, The Capitana lanching her owne ſquiffe or longe boate, and therein ſuch ſoldiours putt as are

to goe, an enſigne is to be caried in the prowe of that ſquiffe onely, which all the reſt are to followe, and comming neare vnto the ſhoare, they holde water turning their poopes vnto it, to vſe ſuch little pieces as goe in them, ſhooting them off if neede be, giuing a tire vpon the enimie to make him ſtande further from the ſea ſide, and when he will not, then to thruſt them a ſhoare, where a ſquadron is inſtantlie to be made, the harquebuſerie gayning the moſt conuenient ſtand, and with this order the ſquiffes returne againe to ſea to fetche the reſt which are to deſembarke, an effect which he that is on lande cannot withſtand, the inuador being the more powerfull, when he holdeth no place fortified, or furniſhed with artillerie nor that it bee inacceſſible, for that he which commeth to land carieth litle pieces, and they on lande being to remoue theirs from one place to another, cannot weilde them with that readines that they are caryed vpon the water: and when their is a place fortified where the men muſt needs land, then doe they arme their boats with blinders, which couereth the fore parte and ſerued for a defence, and then letting it to fall when they come to land, it ſerueth for a bridge, helping them ſelues with this, and ſuch other maner of barkes, which they defend with ſundrie ſortes of inſtruments.

Epiloge, referring him ſelfe to better iudgements,

Albeit that I haue made no profeſſion of a Mariner, the hauing bene a ſoldiour in ſome voyages by ſea, and preſent where I haue ſeene armies inough ioyne, ſundry ſortes of ſhippes hauing bene prepared for them, ſhall excuſe mee for entreating of the gouerment thereof, and maner of fight, without writing more at large of marinerſhippe, for that it is not my profeſſion, referring my ſelfe as well in this, as in that of the lande ſeruice to thoſe, whoſe iudgement is better, and knowe more thorough their great experience, of which I for thoſe yeres I followed the warre in, haue ſignified vnto *Y. H.* in ſeruice of lande and ſea, my iudgement, to be moſt conuenient for a Prince like *Y. H.* to haue the Theorique and practiſe

ctiſe thereof, and to aduantage more by this the experience, which occaſions may bring, the which hath bene my ende in ſcribling of theſe papers, ledde with the deſire I holde, that not onelie your ſouldiors ſhould admire in *Y. H.* your wiſedome, and conſideration in vndertaking enterpriſes, liuelines and diligence, in executing of them, dexteritie in camping, and forme of gouerning your Armies and forces, but that it may be an example to the reſt of the Princes and Kings, for to come to be called renowmed Captaines of warre, which *Y. H.* will attaine vnto, and manie other things worthie of ſo great a Prince, if you will fixe the ende of your Actions, in the ſeruice of our Lord God, offering vnto him the greatnes of forces who hath put them into your handes for the augmẽtation of his glorie and honor, and maintenance of peace and Iuſtice within your Kingdomes, with which he will be leaſt offended, and moſt prayſed. A blanke on which all men are to looke, euerie one following the vocation of his eſtate.

What ought to bee the laſt end of our actions.

Laus Deo.

Vni ſoli & ſemper.

Cenſure.

BY order from the Lordes of the Royall Councell, I haue ſeene this booke, intituled, *Theorique and practiſe of warre*, directed to the Prince our Lorde, compoſed by *Don Bernardino de Mendoza*: And by the experience which I haue of two and thirtie yeares which I haue ſerued the K. our Soueraigne in the warres, Captaine of light horſſe, and Infanterie, and Campemaiſter, and Campemaiſter generall, and hauing read all whatſoeuer with the beſt diligence I could gather written thereof, antique or moderne in that profeſſion, and ſuch hiſtories as ſett downe the reaſons of their loſſe or victorie, which haue had the commaunde or rule ouer armies, which is the height of the arte militar, holding experience to vnderſtand them, I ſay that this worke is verie worthie of *His Highnes*, becauſe firſte hee propoſeth ſuch principall aduertiſements, as are to bee conſidered, and vnderſtood in the managing of a warre, preuenting in the beginning excuſes for taking armes, as one that hath had experience, howe vncerten the euentes are, and laying down the matter of ſtate with much chriſtian zeale, in which hee ſheweth well the much Theorique and practiſe which he hath: and after hauing done great and worthie ſeruices to the K. our Soueraigne, it is not the leaſt, to haue made ſuch a booke, for the profitt which as wel the Prince our Lo. may drawe out thereof, as the generals of his armie, and leaders, and ſoldiors, which are to folowe them, Therefore is it fit that it bee printed, ſo great profit redounding thereby. At *Madrid*, the 12. of May, 1595.

Don Franciſco Arias de Bobadilla.